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Class B **No. 6**

Pāṇini as a Variationist

PAUL KIPARSKY

Edited by
S. D. JOSHI

Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit,
University of Poona.

In collaboration with the MIT Press,
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Editor's Note

Prof. Paul Kiparsky was a Visiting Professor at the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit in 1976–77. During this time he and I worked together on problems relating to the ordering of rules in Pāṇini's grammar (*asiddha* vs. *siddha*). It was also in this period that Prof. Kiparsky evolved his idea of Pāṇini as a Variationist, that is, of Pāṇini using the words *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* to indicate different preferences of option. Since this idea was worked out during Prof. Kiparsky's stay at the C.A.S.S., it seemed proper to me that the work concerned should be published as a joint publication of the M.I.T. Press and the University of Poona. Authorities of both institutions agreed. I am happy to see that as a result of this co-operation the work has been printed and published by the Poona University Press.

Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit,
University of Poona.
October 1, 1979.

S. D. JOSHI

Preface

This study is devoted to establishing the existence of a hitherto unknown dimension in Pāṇini's treatment of linguistic variation, and to investigating in a preliminary way what it might mean for our understanding of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition and of the history of the Sanskrit language. I will survey the optional rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from several points of view. Each of these will be found to yield some support for the conclusion that *Pāṇini makes a systematic distinction between three degrees of optionality.* One method of demonstrating this is by the words which designate rules as optional. The different meanings which the interpretation I propose assigns to them in Pāṇini's metalanguage will be seen to agree well both with their etymology and meaning in ordinary Sanskrit, and with the explicit definition which Pāṇini provides for one of these words in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself (Ch. 1). I will also analyze that definition and show that the several apparent anomalies which it presents under the traditional interpretation are firmly motivated if — and, it would appear, only if — the words differ in meaning as proposed (Ch. 6). Another line of inquiry is through internal analysis of the optional rules in the system. This also brings many hints of the same distinction of meaning, both in the form of complications which would otherwise be pointless (Ch. 1 : rule 7.1.80, Ch. 4 ; rules 3.1.140, 143) and in the form of whole types of rules which preferentially use just one of the words denoting optionality, for reasons having to do with their meanings (Ch. 4, end). But by far the most productive source of evidence will be the confrontation of Pāṇini's optional rules with the actual preferences attested in Sanskrit usage, as it appears in Pāṇini's own text (Ch. 2), in Vedic works (Ch. 3), and in Sanskrit in general (Ch. 4). This will provide us with confirmation of our hypothesis which is so massive that it would in itself be sufficient to establish the point even if no other evidence could be found.

My investigation, and especially this last "philological," aspect of it, has unavoidably involved me in numerous tangential issues of fact and interpretation. Such tentative conclusions as I have been able to arrive at on these issues, in part on grounds related to my central hypothesis about the threefold distinction in optionality, and in part on quite independent grounds, may be of some interest even apart from the role they play in my argumentation. Since they are largely scattered about in the text among discussions of particular rules of Pāṇini to which they happen to be relevant, it may be useful to identify some of them here :

— The system behind the continuation and discontinuation of items from preceding rules (*anuvṛtti* and *nivṛtti*) : Ch. 2 (p. 44-47), Ch. 3 (p. 62), Ch. 4 (p. 151-158), Ch. 5.

— Proposals and conjectures concerning the interpretation of problematic rules : Ch. 3 (items 3, 4, 7, 16, 17), Ch. 4 (items 1, 21, 28, 29, 32, 38, 75, 86, 97, 113 (p. 156 ff.), 129, 147), Ch. 5 (8.2.74).

— The role of *ca, api, eva* in the system : Ch. 5.

— The systematic status of technical terms and of rules introducing them : Ch. 6.

— The linguistic status of Sanskrit in Pāṇini's time and after : Ch. 4 (beginning, end), Ch. 7.

— Methodological issues in Pāṇini studies : Ch. 7.

I must stress here that these ancillary proposals are being offered in a somewhat less assertive mode than the main thesis of my essay. They are intended to be no more than preliminary explorations, and I fully recognize that they need to be followed up by more systematic work. Though, if correct, they generally support my analysis of optionality, they are not essential to it, and I would not be terribly disappointed if they turned out to be mistaken. In fact, I would be pleased if dissatisfaction with them prompted someone to discover better solutions to the problems in question.

This work was written in Poona during 1976–77. For making possible that delightful year of total immersion in Pāṇinian grammar I am grateful to a number of people and institutions. The American Institute of Indian Studies and the National Endowment for the Humanities each provided financial support for a portion of my stay. M. D. Bhandare and D. P. Mehendiratta of the A. I. I. S. gave efficient help in practical matters. A. M. Ghatage allowed me to use the magnificient files of the Sanskrit Dictionary Project at Deccan College. I had the privilege of learning from two extraordinary scholars, K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri and T. S. Srinivasa Sastri. V. W. Paranjpe, A. R. Kelkar, D. M. Joshi, and many other good friends also helped in various ways. I am indebted to S. D. Laddu of the C.A.S.S., for his assistance in preparing the indices and in reading the proofs of this book.

The greatest debt by far I owe to S. D. Joshi. As Director of the C. A. S. S. of the University of Poona he opened to me the resources of that institution. As my teacher he has guided my work on Pāṇini for many years. As my collaborator in another project on Pāṇini he has patiently tolerated the inroads which this work made on my time, which might perhaps have been better spent on our joint research. As editor of this work he has checked the manuscript, and arranged for the preparation of indices and for printing it in the C. A. S. S. series. On numerous specific points he has suggested substantial improvements, which I have mostly accepted and tried as best I could to work into the text (though the responsibility for any mistakes is mine alone). For all this, and for his warm encouragement I thank him from the bottom of my heart.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
Cambridge, U. S. A.
November 15, 1979.

PAUL KIPARSKY

Note

In citing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I have followed the text and numbering of Böhtlingk's edition. In the rare cases where I have adopted another reading for a rule I have justified my decision in detail.

To make the book more readable, I have tried to make the presentation as explicit as possible, by the following means:

(1) A rule is usually referred to by its wording as well as by its number.

(2) Where they are important to the argument, the relevant grammatical derivations are provided.

(3) When a rule is mentioned for the first time, it has normally been translated. I have tried to make the translations idiomatic without distorting the meaning of the original. But I have often preferred " A becomes B " over the clumsier but more authentic " B is substituted for A ", since these locutions are always interconvertible (even Kātyāyana does it sometimes).

(4) Where appropriate, cross-references have been provided in the text.

(5) The text has not been disfigured by excessive abbreviations. Only the commonly cited works have been abbreviated, most of them in what I trust is a self-explanatory way. I mention here only: *Mbh* = *Mahābhārata*, *R* = *Rāmāyaṇa*, *VWC* = (Vishva Bandhu's) *Vedic Word-Concordance*, DC = Deccan College Dictionary files, BR = Böhtlingk–Roth, A = Apte's (larger) Sanskrit–English Dictionary, MW = Monier-Williams. — I hope that this style of presentation may remove unnecessary obstacles from the reader's path and save him the bother of constantly having to flip back and forth between my text, list of abbreviations, index, and Pāṇini's grammar itself.

(6) Literary works have been generally cited from the editions used for the Deccan College Dictionary (listed in its recently published first volume). Lexical material culled from grammars, monographs, dictionaries, and other secondary sources has been rechecked in these editions in cases where a scarcity of relevant examples did not leave a sufficient margin of error. Where the evidence for some point of usage is numerically overwhelming this was not thought necessary. Although various errors are therefore bound to have crept in, in this way I hope to have at least confined them to where they could not distort my conclusions.

PĀṆINI AS A VARIATIONIST

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To indicate that a rule is to be applied optionally, Pāṇini uses 106 times *vā*, 112 times *vibhāṣā*, and 93 times *anyatarasyām*. Why this variety, when one word would do? This question has a surprising answer, which has remained unknown for over two thousand years. Not even the oldest commentators Kātyāyana and Patañjali have any inkling of it. The purpose of this study is to resurrect this lost facet of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and to explore some of its consequences.

Contrary to tradition, the three words are not synonymous, but are used to denote different preferences among optional variants. They are to be translated as follows:

vā	‘ or rather ’, usually ’, ‘ preferably ’
vibhāṣā	‘ or rather not ’, ‘ rarely ’, ‘ preferably not ’, ‘ marginally ’
anyatarasyām	‘ either way ’, ‘ sometimes ’, ‘ optionally ’, ‘ alternatively.

This three-way distinction enables Pāṇini's rules to register the stylistic preferences among variants which are characteristic of any living language in its natural state. It is easiest to see what is meant if we first take a modern example. Suppose we were to describe the formation of past participles in contemporary American English. We would say that in the three verbs *hide*, *mow* and *sew*, the suffix *-(e)n* is found in optional use:

I have *hid / hidden* the key
I have *mowed / mown* the lawn
I have *sewed / sewn* the button

This would be the truth, but not the whole truth. An accurate description of usage would have to indicate that in the first case, the *-en* form *hidden* is definitely the preferable option, in the second case, the *-en* form *mown* is only marginally acceptable, and in the third case, both variants are about equally current. The best traditional grammars, such as Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar*, take great care to record facts of this order. In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, these three types of situations correspond respectively to *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, and *anyatarasyām*.

For example, in Pāṇini's rule 8.2.33 *vā druhamuhasnuhasnihām*, the replacement of root-final *-h* by *-gh* before obstruents and word-finally (prescribed for roots beginning with *d-* by the preceding rule 32 *dāder dhātor* *ghaḥ*) is given as optional for the roots *druh*, *muh*, *snuh*, *snih*. The forms obtained by applying the rule, e.g., *drugdha*, *mugdha*, *snugdha*, *snigdha*, are decidedly preferred to the forms obtained by *not* applying the rule, e.g., *drūḍha*, *mūḍha*. *snūḍha*, *snīḍha*. It is the other way round in rule 7.3.90 *ūrṇoter vibhāṣā*, which allows optional *vṛddhi*, e.g., *ūrṇauti* 'he covers', along with the expected *guṇa* form, e.g., *ūrṇoti*, before the singular endings in the present tense. Here *not* applying the optional rule (*ūrṇoti*) gives the ordinary form, which predominates from Vedic through classical Sanskrit, and applying of the rule (*ūrṇauti*) yields a marginal variant which is attested only a few times in all of Sanskrit literature. This is why Pāṇini has introduced the first option by means of the word *vā* 'preferably', and the second option by means of the word *vibhāṣā* 'preferably not', 'marginally'. Where Pāṇini does not want to state a preference either way, he employs the word *anyatarasyām*. For example, 7.3.43 *ruhaḥ po 'nyatarasyām* allows the *h* of *ruh* 'rise' to become *p* optionally in the causative; i.e., *ārohayati* or *āropayati* are both equally acceptable as far as Pāṇini's rule is concerned.

That Pāṇini should have systematically incorporated this kind of information in his grammar is not surprising when we consider the care with which he records linguistic variation dependent on various kinds of non-grammatical factors : regional (*prācām* 'in the speech of easterners', *udīcām* 'in the speech of northerners', etc.), stylistic (*chandasi* 'in sacred literature', *bhāṣāyām* 'in colloquial speech'), social (in the rule 8.2.83 *pratyabhivāde 'śūdre*, which prescribes a certain intonation in responding to a greeting except to a *śūdra*), and pragmatic (*ākrośe* 'derogatorily', *kutsane* 'contemptuously', etc.). In view of this orientation towards the realities of usage one could maintain that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* would be incomplete if it had nothing to say about those linguistic preferences which do not depend, at least in any simple and direct way, on regional, stylistic, social, or pragmatic factors.

From a formal point of view, introducing this three-way distinction does not involve a large modification of the system. A conventional rule-system with optional rules, such as Pāṇini's grammar was thought to be, involves a single, neutral modal operator, "may", "sometimes", or "optionally". Pāṇini's system is obtained by adding a second basic modal operator, "should", "usually", or "preferably". In combination with negation, it yields the third value "should not", "usually not", "preferably not", or "marginally". On the other hand, the neutral operator does not give a new value with negation in its scope : "optionally not" is exactly equivalent to "optionally". Accordingly, we will see that in Pāṇini's system, *na vā* is equivalent to *vibhāṣā*, whereas *na anyatarasyām* is equivalent to plain *anyatarasyām*.

It is immediately evident that our hypothesis brings the technical meanings of *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, and *anyatarasyām* closely into line with their ordinary meanings, in so far as these can be established.

In combination with the particle *atha*, *vā* is commonly used to introduce a preferred alternative.[1] Correspondingly, *na vā* stands with an inferior alternative. Typical of "shastric" style are thus : *atha vā vaktavyam* 'or rather, it is to be said', 'better say it', *na vā vaktavyam*, 'or rather, it is not to be said', 'better not say it'.

Like many other technical devices of Pāṇini,[2] his use of *vā* and *na vā* is thus an abstraction and formalization of a feature of ordinary language.

Vibhāṣā is defined by *na vā* in 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*. *Na vā* is not used otherwise, apart from the cases when it arises implicitly from the combination of a *na* continued by *anuvṛtti* with an overt *vā* stated in a rule. The etymology of *vibhāṣā* is interesting. *Bhāṣā* means 'speech' and *vi-* in noun compounds often means 'different, deviant, bad', as in *videśa* 'different country, foreign country', *vipatha* 'deviant, wrong road', *vikarman* 'wicked act', *vijanman* 'bastard', *viśīla* 'ill-mannered, immoral'. *Vibhāṣā*, then, is 'different speech', 'deviant speech' or 'bad speech', perhaps combining all these meanings as the English word *dialect* does in popular usage. The word *vibhāṣā* is attested in a more specific sense referring to a group of Prakrit dialects (see BR under *vibhāṣā*). The dialects included under this designation were : *śākārī* (a dialect in which *ś* was substituted for *s* and *ṣ*), *śābarī* (the dialect of the Śabaras, an aboriginal tribe from the Deccan), *śākkī* (the Śaka dialect), *ābhīrikī* (the dialect of the Ābhīra people) and *cāṇḍālī* (the dialect of the Caṇḍālas, outcastes held in great contempt by Sanskrit writers). Again this suggests that *vibhāṣā* referred at one time in ordinary Sanskrit usage to speech which was dialectal and disapproved of by the community of *śiṣṭas*.

Pāṇini did not use the term in exactly this sense, but in a closely related one. *Vibhāṣā* forms must have been acceptable Sanskrit, for Pāṇini dealt with unacceptable forms by simply formulating his rules so that they could not be derived by the grammar. Another indication that the label *vibhāṣā* is not intended simply to condemn, and cannot refer to dialectal forms in the ordinary sense of that term, is that *vibhāṣā* is several times used in Vedic rules.[3] Clearly it never entered Pāṇini's head to condemn any Vedic usage. He merely indicates that certain forms are preferred to others, whether in Vedic or in classical Sanskrit.

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[1] "It is used for the sake of correcting one's self. It introduces, therefore, a statement more exact than the preceding one; in accordance with the nature of the contrast between the two, one may translate *athavā* by "or rather" or "on the contrary" or "no" or "but...." (Speijer, 1886, 333). Kātyāyana often uses plain *vā* in the same sense, typically when his remark consists of a single word which then comes first, e. g. 2.1.1 Vt. 24 *tadarthagater vā* "or rather, (there is compounding) because its meaning is understood."

[2] For example, the conventions of *anuvṛtti*, the use of different cases to indicate context, input, and change, and the limitation of general (*utsarga*) rules by special (*apavāda*) rules.

[3] E. g. 6.2.164, 7.4.44 *vibhāṣā chandasi*.

And so I think the most accurate translation will be " preferably " for *vā* and " marginally " for *vibhāṣā*, or " often " and " rarely " if we take not so much the active user's point of view as the observer's. The former pair is perhaps better for classical Sanskrit and the latter for Vedic, but it does not matter much which we use as long as we are clear about the distinction between the three words. As far as the classical language is concerned, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is simultaneously descriptive and normative : everything it says about Sanskrit is quite clearly based on genuine observations of actual usage as well as a native speaker's intuitions about potential usage, but it is at the same time understood that this usage, exactly as described in the grammar, constitutes a norm to be followed by all speakers. In glossing rules, I have arbitrarily chosen " preferably " and " marginally ", keeping " optionally " as a general term as well as for a specific gloss of the neutral option *anyatarasyām*.

What Pāṇini has done with *vibhāṣā*, then, is to take in his typical fashion a pre-theoretical, naive concept and give it an elegant formal analysis in his theory : 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā.* This adaptation of the word *vibhāṣā* is very likely original with Pāṇini or his school, for it is not found elsewhere in early Sanskrit in the meaning ' option, optionally ', as far as I can make out.[4]

The third word, *anyatarasyām*, which we have hypothesized to be a neutral term denoting simply " option ", means literally just " either way, on either alternative ". Here, too, the technical meaning fits well with the ordinary meaning of the word.

What I have said so far may help to make my proposal clear and give it some initial plausibility. The arguments which I propose to develop for it are based on interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I would like to preface them with some general remarks on the principles and methods which in my opinion ought to be followed in such work.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* must be interpreted at several levels of generality : factual, structural, and theoretical.[5]

(1) At the *factual* level, the question is simply what the grammar is intended to say about the Sanskrit language. That involves determining the exact meaning of the rules : How are the terms in a rule to be understood ? What elements are to be read into it by *anuvṛtti* ? How is it limited in its

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[4] I say Pāṇini or his school because the word occurs in a rule cited from Āpiśali in Haradatta's *Padamañjarī* on 2.3.17 : *manyakarmaṇy anadara upamāne vibhāṣā prāṇiṣu.* If this is the same Āpiśali as the one quoted by Pāṇini himself, then the usage of *vibhāṣā* is pre-Pāṇinian. But of all pre-Pāṇinian grammarians, Āpiśali is the closest to Pāṇini (Bhate, 1971) and they seem to have belonged to the same school.

[5] Loosely comparable to Chomsky's " three levels of adequacy " : observational, descriptive, and explanatory. Of course, the analogy breaks down because Pāṇini did not have the concepts of universal grammar, explanation etc. which are current today.

applicability by other *(apavāda)* rules? And it involves determining how rules interact in derivations: In what order relative to other rules must a rule be applied? What are to be taken as its relevant input representations? In the tradition, all this is the business of *Vṛtti* works like the *Kāśikā* and *Siddhāntakaumudī*.

(2) At the *structural* level, we are looking for the principles behind (1), namely the formal conventions *(paribhāṣā)* according to which the grammar is organized, and which govern the interpretation and operation of the rules. For example, how is the scope of *anuvṛtti* determined in a general way for any given case? How is the order of application determined? What tells us when one rule is an *apavāda* relative to another? Questions of this order are taken up in such treatises as the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*.

(3) At the *theoretical* level, we in turn seek the rationale behind the system of level (2). Why were just these conventions and not some other conceivable set of conventions adopted as a basis for grammar? What views about language, or about the analysis of language, were held by Pāṇini and his predecessors, which led them to construct such systems as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*? This is touched on, for example, in portions of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself rarely provides an answer to these questions. It says nothing at the first level: that is, Pāṇini did not compose a *Vṛtti* for his own sūtras, or if he did, it has not survived. At the second level, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does contain a fair number of *paribhāṣā* rules, but nowhere near the complete set that is required for a full understanding of the structure of the system. And at the third, theoretical level, there are only the five highly interesting but rarely discussed rules 1.2.53-7 (see Chapter 5) which give us at least some idea. But even these are with good reason suspected of being interpolations.

Then how do we go about filling in the picture? In principle, since the three levels are logically interconnected, each could give us a point of entry into the whole. We will do best to proceed simultaneously on all three, going as far as we can on each and drawing what connections between them we can as we go along.

At the factual level, our arguments will naturally proceed from the postulate that the rules ought to agree as far as possible with actual Sanskrit usage. Accordingly, we may argue for or against a particular interpretation on the grounds that it increases or decreases the accuracy of the grammar as a description of the attested forms of the language. And proceeding from there to the next level, we will, other things being equal, prefer those principles which impose interpretations giving the best possible fit between rules and usage. This is basically the traditional argument from *prayoga*. But we will in practice apply it differently because of our historical approach to the problem.

A consequence of this historical approach will be that we can build valid arguments only on forms which Pāṇini can plausibly have *intended* to be derivable in his grammar. That excludes, in the first place, forms which, on the evidence of the literature, either went out of use before Pāṇini's time or came into use only after it. Secondly, it excludes the more obscure crucial examples which Sanskrit grammarians (just like modern linguists) take delight in discovering, such as *hotṛkāra* 'the priest's syllabic *ḷ*' (constructed to show the contraction of *ṛ* with *ḷ*). It is not necessarily a question of doubting the acceptability of such forms in Sanskrit, but of recognizing that they may conceivably never have come to Pāṇini's mind at all, since they are so highly unusual.

At the structural level, the arguments will be based on maximizing the simplicity and consistency of the system. So we may support a particular assumption about Pāṇini's metatheory on the grounds that it makes sense out of an otherwise pointless redundancy or other complexity in the formulation of some rule, or because it reveals a unified system in what appears to be a disparate set of features in grammar. This also is a basically traditional method of interpreting Pāṇini (viz. from *sāmarthya* and from *jñāpakas*). But again it will take us to new conclusions. We will be reluctant to accept the kind of tricky, ad hoc interpretations which since Patañjali have been an increasingly conspicuous feature of Sanskrit grammatical tradition. It has to be kept in mind that an apparently avoidable complication is not always enforced by some feature of the metatheory, but may be due to the requirements of clarity, or even to simple oversight. On the whole, the likelihood that Pāṇini was guilty of mistakes and inconsistencies is greater than the likelihood that the principles of organization he presupposed were highly unnatural and lacking in generality.

The third level, too, may be expected to yield a window into Pāṇini's system, though little has been done so far on those lines. The problem is that we do not have a sufficiently clear picture of Pāṇini's view of language and the tasks of linguistic analysis. Closer study of the assumptions underlying the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as well as other contemporary sūtra works may one day give us a surer foundation here (Renou 1941–42).

How does all this apply concretely to the topic of our study?

Our main arguments will come from a systematic comparison of Pāṇini's optional rules with the attested facts of Sanskrit usage. If our hypothesis is correct, then such a comparison ought to reveal that the variants introduced by Pāṇini with *vā* are in general those preferred by Sanskrit authors in their writings, while those introduced by Pāṇini with *vibhāṣā* tend to be rare, perhaps even completely unattested. We will see that in the overwhelming majority of cases this prediction is borne out.

But the project is not easy to carry out. The difficulties of comparing the output of the grammatical rules with the facts of the language as they appear in the literature have been detailed in Laddu (1974). For our part, we will have all of Laddu's problems plus a set of our own due to the fact that we are dealing with *optional* rules.

It is not sufficient for us to be able to show that a given form occurs in the literature : we have to determine its frequency relative to the other optional variant. That means that one or two attestations won't be very satisfactory. We need more in order to make a statistically significant comparison possible. For many rules the data will simply not be obtainable in these quantities. Minor points of morphology are especially troublesome.[6] Sanskrit crams so many morphological categories into words that a given word form may be rather rare. To give an example at random, 6.4.17 *tanoter vibhāṣā* gives optional root vowel lengthening in the desiderative of *tan* ' stretch '. Cases of the relevant forms *titāṁsati* and *titaṁsati* in Sanskrit literature are going to be no more frequent than cases of the syntagm *wants to stretch* in English literature. Fortunately, we can get excellent help from dictionaries. But more often than not, even they leave us in the lurch. What would be required is a native speaker of Sanskrit.

The same is true to some extent of derivational morphology also. Laddu (1974) attempted to establish changes in the Sanskrit language from Pāṇini to Kātyāyana and Patañjali on the basis of 143 rules dealing with *kṛt* suffixes. In checking the rules against the literature, he found in the majority of cases that the words which the rules dealt with could not be attested. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Pāṇini was describing not some fixed corpus of texts but all of Sanskrit as he spoke it. A large amount of vocabulary from various domains, especially proper names and words from practical life (commerce, agriculture, food preparation, plants and animals, warfare, weights and measures) cannot be found in the older literature simply because it does not deal much with concrete technical topics. Yet this lexical material is thoroughly covered in Pāṇini's word-formation rules.

Laddu quotes from Gonda (1971, 6) a passage drawing attention to still another doubt.

" A serious source of errors inherent in any linguistic research directed on an ancient literature whatever its scope and elements is the element of chance. How are we to know whether a word or a form which is rare or frequent in the texts was also rare or frequent in contemporaneous literature ? "

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[6] Speaking of the perfect tense inflection, Whitney remarks : " The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of *tha* or *itha*, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with one another, and, as the forms are very infrequent, it is not possible to criticize the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage. " (p. 286)

The only answer we can give is that when the element of chance is a danger, there is safety in numbers. The number of optional rules which we *can* check is quite large enough that even with all this static in our way, the overall picture is not in doubt.

As far as these problems are concerned, we are much better off in the domain of the Vedic language. Its treatment in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, though sporadic, is on some points detailed. The chances that a Vedic rule of Pāṇini will be verifiable against the texts are much greater than is the case with a rule for classical Sanskrit. For in Vedic we are in the same boat with Pāṇini: like us, he had to rely on what he found in the texts. Here he can give us no subtleties that depend on his native command of the language. In view of its importance, therefore, the Vedic material will be examined separately in Chapter 3.

There is one corpus where the gap between Pāṇini's rules and attested linguistic usage ought to be narrower still: the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. If we are right in interpreting *vā* as " preferably " and *vibhāṣā* as " preferably not ", then we ought to find that Pāṇini himself prefers to use the variants he introduces with *vā* and avoids the variants he introduces with *vibhāṣā*. In fact, we have an independently set standard for how close that correspondence should be: just as close as the correspondence of Pāṇini's *obligatory* rules with his own linguistic usage. And we know that this is extremely close, though there are some discrepancies. In a famous passage of his *Tantravārttika*, the eighth century Mīmāṁsā scholar Kumārila Bhaṭṭa takes Pāṇini and other grammarians to task for violating their own rules, and cites cases like the compound *tatprayojaka* ' its impeller ' in 1.4.55 tatprayojako *hetuś ca*, which is inadmissible according to the prohibition which 2.2.16 *kartari ca* places on compounding of objects with nouns in *-aka*.[7] Such blunders on the part of the great grammarian are extremely rare, however. Here therefore is a critical testing ground for our hypothesis about Pāṇini's optional rules. We will make the fullest possible use of it in Chapter 2.

These " factual " arguments, involving comparison of the optional rules with linguistic usage, will take up the major portion of this study. But we will be able to add to them a number of arguments which are "structural" in character. We will see that the system of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* shows certain apparently unnecessary complexities and anomalies connected with the words for " optionally " if these are interpreted in the traditional manner. On the new interpretation proposed here, all these features can be seen to be motivated. To put it in traditional terms, they are *jñāpakas* from which the correctness of our interpretation can be inferred.

Informal versions of these structural arguments can be stated in very few words. Several center around the definition of *vibhāṣā* given in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*. Why has Pāṇini defined *vibhāṣā* there as " *na*

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[7] See Chatterji (1934) for a compendium of these criticisms.

vā"? If, as the tradition maintains, *vibhāṣā* and *vā* are equivalent, then the negation *na* is entirely redundant, and the simpler rule **veti vibhāṣā* would have been preferable. On our interpretation, however, the definition given by Pāṇini is the only possible definition. *Vibhāṣā* "preferably not" is exactly equivalent to *vā* + *na*, and quite different in meaning from plain *vā*.

If *vibhāṣā* was defined, why was not *anyatarasyām* defined also? On the traditional account, they are synonymous and there is nothing to justify their different treatment. But on our reinterpretation, only *vā* and *vibhāṣā* are interdefinable. *Anyatarasyām* has a meaning which cannot be paraphrased by the use of either of the other two terms. Therefore it had to be left as a primitive of the system.

A more basic question is why a definition was needed in the first place. Pāṇini does not elsewhere define terms which can be explicated outside of grammar. In particular, he has never defined any purely logical terms, such as *nityam* 'always' or *na* 'not', and he uses both *anya* 'other' and *sama* 'same' without defining one as the negation of the other, although that would have been easily possible. The answer is that Pāṇini has sought to define all terms proper to grammar and only these in so far as it is possible to do so.

Thus, *laghu* 'light' and *guru* 'heavy' are introduced by means of the terms *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', and *saṁyoga* 'cluster'.[8] Each of these is in turn reduced to more primitive terms,[9] until primitive notions are reached which can no longer be explicated within grammar, as in this case *kāla* 'time', *anantara* 'adjacent' and the phenomenological givens *u*, *ū* and *ū*3.[10] On the other hand, *nitya*, *anya*, *sama* etc. are not terms proper to grammar, and they have therefore been left undefined. On the traditional account, the same ought to be true of *vibhāṣā*. But as we have now interpreted it, it has a sense which belongs specifically to grammar. No other Śāstra employs the notion of a preferred option or of a non-preferred option. It would hardly even make sense in a strictly normative rule system such as that of ritual. Since *vā* and *vibhāṣā*, then, are properly grammatical terms and are interdefinable, Pāṇini had to include a definition in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Being semantically the simpler term, *vā* rather than *vibhāṣā* was taken as basic; hence 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*.

Apart from these technical anomalies, it is quite incomprehensible, on the traditional interpretation, why there should be three words for "optionally" to begin with, when one would do. It is true that Pāṇini occasionally uses two words for the same thing without any apparent structural motivation.[11] But it does not elsewhere happen on such a massive scale — three synonyms used about one hundred times each — and, a very important point, it does not happen with terms which are *defined* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Having introduced a term into his system by means of rules, Pāṇini does not then proceed to use another, undefined term — let alone two — in seemingly random alternation with it, as he apparently does in the case of the words for "optionally". On our account there is no difficulty because these three words each have a different meaning.

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[8] 1.4.10 *hrasvaṁ laghu*, 11 *saṁyoge guru*, 12 *dīrghaṁ ca*.

[9] 1.2.27 *ūkālo 'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*, 1.1.7 *halo 'nantarāḥ saṁyogaḥ*.

[10] Similarly, a system of formal logic will introduce axiomatically only the minimum possible number of connectives, say *not* and *if*, and define the others, e.g. *and* and *or*, in terms of these. Appearances of *and* and *or* can then be regarded as abbreviations of more complex expressions formed by means of the primitive ones.

Not all structural arguments for our interpretation involve the system of technical terms and *saṁjñā* rules. In a few remarkable cases, Pāṇini has complicated the formulation of a strictly *derivational* rule in a way which makes sense only if our interpretation is accepted. An example of this type is rule 7.1.80, cited in its context below :

7.1.78 nā*bhyastāc chatuḥ* [58 *num*]
7.1.79 vā *napuṁsakasya* [78 *na*] [58 *num*]
7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor* num [79 *vā*]
7.1.81 *śyapśyanor* nityam [80 *āc chīnadyor num*]

All these rules deal with the appearance or non-appearance of the augment *nUM*[12] in the participle suffix *ŚatṚ (= a(n)t)*. Because of its diacritic *Ṛ*, *ŚatṚ* would ordinarily get the augment *nUM* obligatorily in the strong cases.[13] Our first rule, 7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ* says that this does not happen after reduplicated participle stems, e. g , nom. pl. masc. *dadataḥ*. The next rule, 7.1.79 *vā napuṁsakasya*, makes this prohibition optional, but still preferred (*vā*), in neuters, e.g., nom. pl. *dadanti* or (better) *dadati*. The negation *na*, which was carried over into 79 from 78, is cancelled in 80 by the repetition of *num*. Accordingly, 7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num* says that *ŚatṚ* preferably does get *nUM* in the environment mentioned in that rule, namely after a verb ending in *a* or *ā* before the neuter dual ending *Śī* and before the *nadī* (feminine) ending *ī*, e. g., nom. sg. fem. fut. p *bhaviṣyantī* or (less preferably) *bhaviṣyatī*. The next rule, 7.1.81 *śyapśyanor nityam* in turn makes the *nUM* obligatory (*nityam*) in certain special cases, viz. after the suffixes *ŚaP* and *ŚyaN*. The essential point is that the preference is reversed from 79 to 80 : in the neuters, it is better to have no *nUM* ; after *a*-stems before *ī*, it is better to have it.

Now, from a formal point of view, the question arises why it was necessary to repeat *num* in 80 even though it was available there by *anuvṛtti*, as in the preceding rule. On the traditional interpretation of what *vā* means, the *num* in 80 is absolutely redundant, and exactly the same results could have been obtained by Pāṇini with the simpler rule 80 *āc chīnadyoḥ*. On the interpretation of *vā* which I propose, it was necessary to repeat *num* in 80 in order to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *na* in that rule. If 80 were read simply with *[vā]* and *[na]*, it would say that *nUM* is preferably *not* used in feminines of the *tud* class and future participles. But that would be just the opposite of what is really the case in Sanskrit. In order to capture the reversal of the preference from the absence of *nUM* in the context of rule 79 to the presence of *nUM* in the context of rule 80, Pāṇini had to repeat *num* in rule 80. Under the assumption that *vā* and *na vā* mean different things this repetition can be squared with Pāṇini's striving for maximum simplicity, and as far as I can see, under no other assumption. In traditional terms, we must consider the repetition of *num* in 7.1.80 as a *jñāpaka* for the meaning of *vā* which I am arguing for.

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[11] E. g. for "gender" *liṅga* and *vyakti*, for "following" *uttara*, *para* and *udaya*. Cf. Ch. 6 below.

[12] The infix *n* inserted after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ*).

[13] 7.1.70 *ugidacāṁ sarvanamasthāne 'dhātoḥ*.

Structural arguments of this sort become compelling only against the background of Pāṇini's technique as a whole. We won't be greatly impressed by the inconsistencies and redundancies which the traditional interpretation brings with it unless we are in a position to appreciate the astonishing consistency and lack of redundancy which is otherwise characteristic of the system. To this end, I will attempt to sketch out an analysis of Pāṇini's technical terminology and *saṁjñā* rules in Chapter 6 below. I will also discuss how anuvṛtti works with optionality, negation, and other operators singly and in combination. This will bring out more clearly the anomalies which exist in the system as it has been traditionally interpreted on the basis of the false assumption that *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, and *anyatarasyām* are synonymous.

That is the gist of what I have attempted to do in the following chapters. Having at first planned nothing more than a brief article on the subject I wound up gradually expanding my treatment until it assumed its present monographic girth. The idea was to make the argument as complete as I could, even if it meant including a lot of more or less boring detail. For I had found in presenting my hypothesis orally to people that some Pāṇinian scholars whose opinions I value highly were inclined to dismiss it out of hand because of its unorthodox character. What they found especially hard to swallow was the thought that the entire tradition, beginning with Kātyāyana, could be unaware of so fundamental a feature of Pāṇini's grammar. So a somewhat thorough presentation of the evidence was required if there was going to be any hope of convincing everyone.

Besides, the importance of the result seemed to justify such an effort. For while the point is small in itself, it has a number of broader consequences. It significantly increases our knowledge of the Sanskrit language and of the Pāṇinian grammatical system, and forces a reappraisal of the post-Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. I conclude this introductory chapter by sketching out some of these implications.

The very fact that not one of Pāṇini's followers has any inkling of this facet of his grammar is remarkable, as the surprise of the Pāṇinīyas who learn of it testifies. The other arguments for our interpretation are strong enough that it can hardly be called into question because the tradition is silent about it. Rather, the shoe is on the other foot : we may call the tradition into question on the grounds that it has failed to preserve this key aspect of Pāṇini's treatment of linguistic variation.

I do not for a moment wish to suggest that the tradition can be ignored. It constitutes a well-developed and coherent doctrine on the interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which naturally forms the backbone of our present understanding of the system. There is no doubt that a large portion of it is absolutely correct. Moreover, it is an enormous storehouse of subtle linguistic insights, which still await utilization in the context of current theoretical discussion in the field of linguistics.

Still, there are some limitations. The Pāṇinīyas do not always agree with each other. They leave many vital questions practically untouched. For example, the principles by which the scope of *anuvṛtti* is regulated hardly ever come up for any kind of analysis. There is no *general* discussion of how and why underlying forms are set up, why the rules are organized as they are, what is the point of defining some technical terms and not others — the list of questions that still require to be answered could be extended indefinitely. And, most seriously, the entire traditional doctrine needs to be checked independently in any case before it can be accepted.

Is it possible that at least the earlier representatives of the tradition preserve a continuous direct teacher-student tradition going back ultimately to the grammatical school of Pāṇini ? If even a small part of the original, authentic *vṛttis* and *paribhāṣās* associated with the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should have managed to percolate down to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, or to the authors of the *Kāśikā*, then the value of these works *as primary sources* — quite apart from the grammatical theorizing they contain — would obviously be enormous.

From the *Mahābhāṣya* itself, one gets the impression that both Kātyāyana and Patañjali are leaning on a *vṛtti* tradition which tells them what each rule is supposed to mean. Otherwise it is hard to understand why they always take the purport of a rule for granted without discussion, even where Pāṇini's wording is obscure. True, Patañjali — hardly ever Kātyāyana — tends to propose various more or less artificial reinterpretations of the rules. But, these are always intended to replace some standard interpretation which is assumed at the outset of the discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya.*

On the other hand, neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali could have had access to a complete *paribhāṣā* tradition. They obviously share many of Pāṇini's implicit general assumptions about grammatical analysis. But the specific principles underlying the composition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, insofar as they are not stated in the work itself, are in several cases clearly not known to them from any independent source, but are deduced by them, with much discussion of alternative possibilities, and some disagreement between the two grammarians, from the structure of the grammatical system. And they are often in the dark about what Pāṇini's purpose was in wording a rule as he did.

And so it is very doubtful that there is any direct *paramparā* succession connecting Pāṇini to Kātyāyana, let alone to any of the later grammarians. Even Kātyāyana's terminology reveals that he comes from a different tradition, and we have it from Patañjali that Kātyāyana came from the South. Thus, he did not have an " inside track " any more than we have, but had to figure out the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in so far as it differed from the grammars of his own school. Such special innovations in analysis or technique as originated with the Pāṇinian school would not necessarily have been known to him. The whole tenor of the *Mahābhāṣya* reflects this situation very clearly.

What our results in the following chapters will show is that *not even the vṛtti tradition*—that is, the interpretation of the rules from a *factual* as opposed to a *structural* point of view—has any claim to complete authenticity. Such a significant portion of the linguistic information recorded in Pāṇini's rules as the exact meaning of *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* was simply lost at some time preceding Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas*. Needless to say, this gives moral support to other recent non-traditional reinterpretations of Pāṇini's rules, and raises the question what else might have been lost along the way.

But in another modern challenge to Sanskrit grammar, our results testify for the defense rather than for the prosecution. W. D. Whitney caused a stir in the field by impugning the accuracy of Pāṇini's grammar itself as a record of genuine Sanskrit usage. Though many of Whitney's objections were soon answered,[14] they retain a lingering influence on linguists,[15] and there are points raised by Whitney which remain to be cleared up.

Anyone who has consulted Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* will have been struck by its strong undercurrent of criticism against " the grammarians ". One result of our findings is that as far as the optional rules are concerned, Pāṇini agrees with usage much better than Whitney implies. Where Pāṇini provides two options, and Whitney found only one attested in his corpus, or found only one to be common, the missing or rare one is generally expressly designated as marginal in Pāṇini's rule. I quote some cases from inflectional morphology to illustrate this point.

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[14] Whitney's two attacks on Pāṇini (1884, 1893), together with replies by Bühler, Böhtlingk, Kielhorn, and Liebich, are conveniently collected in Staal (1972). See in addition Schröder (1893) for a convincing vindication of Pāṇini's accuracy in the Vedic domain and Palsule (1961) on the problem of the unattested roots.

[15] Whitney's two articles have recently been reprinted in Silverstein (1973), where the editor has nowhere in his introduction indicated that Sanskritists have long since rejected them.

(1) “ Those verbs, however, which in the 3rd pl. pres. active lose *n* of the usual ending *nti*. . . . , lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem. ” . . “ Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the neut. nom.-acc..voc. pl. in *anti*. ” (P.163–4).

(2) “ According to the grammarians the feminine of the active [future] participle is made either in *ántī* or in *atī́*; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare. . . . ” (P. 334).

Whitney observes that Pāṇini allows an option between neut. nom. pl. (pres. part.) *dadati* and *dadanti*, and between the fem. (fut. part.) *bhaviṣyatī* and *bhaviṣyantī*, whereas by Whitney's own rule, *dadati* and *bhaviṣyantī* are the normal forms. Indeed, the implied suggestion, in the context of Whitney's views on “ the grammarians ”, is that the other forms are nothing but spurious inventions of Pāṇini. But we have seen a few pages back that Pāṇini in rules 7.1.79–80 introduces *nUM* as a marginal option in the neuter and as a preferred option in the future. Far from presenting the forms with and without *nUM* as equivalent alternatives, he presents *dadati* and *bhaviṣyantī* as the normal forms, in complete agreement with Whitney's observations.[16]

(3) “ But *muh* forms also the participle *mūḍha* and agent-noun *mūḍhár*, as well as *mugdhá* and *mugdhár*; and *druh* and *snih* are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise; such forms as *drūḍha* and *snīḍha*, however, have not been met with in use. ” (P. 76).

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Pāṇini's rule 8.3.33 *vā druhamuhasnuhasnihām* gives *mugdha*, *drugdha*, *snigdha* as preferred variants. There is nothing surprising about the fact that Whitney was able to document the marginal forms for only one of the roots.

(4) “ A medial *ṛ* is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by *a* : thus, *acakarṣat*, *avavartat* (beside *acīkṛṣat*, *avīvṛtat*); but no such forms have been met with in use. ” (P. 310).

Pāṇini rule 7.4.7 *ur ṛt* [6 *vā*] [1 *ṇau caṅy upādhāyāḥ*] designates causative aorists of the type *acīkṛṣat*, *avīvṛtat* as preferred compared to *acakarṣat*, *avavartat*. And the next rule, 7.4.8 *nityaṁ chandasi*, makes them even *obligatory* in the Vedic language. For discussion of this case, see the relevant rule in Chapter 4, where other similar examples will also be found.

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[16] Historically, *dadati* and *bhaviṣyantī* are probably the original forms, and *dadanti* and *bhaviṣyatī* are the products of analogy.

This suggests that it is not Pāṇini but Whitney who has his facts wrong. Minor options which because of their rarity did not happen to appear in Whitney's corpus were duly noted by Pāṇini — not necessarily from texts, but simply from his native knowledge of the language — and their marginal status was also indicated in the relevant rules. Whitney's empiricist bias led him to doubt the reality of many forms he could not find attested in his corpus — an attitude which even at the time struck many Sanskritists as presumptuous in view of the pitifully small amount of Classical literature that had been published then. The Deccan College Dictionary Project is now showing how much more there is to Classical Sanskrit than Whitney imagined.

I don't mean to suggest that this is all that lies behind Whitney's contempt for the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. He made other kinds of mistakes too. Sometimes he simply misunderstood Pāṇini's rule. I cite an example, again having to do with optional rules.

(5) " In support of their false view of this aorist [the reduplicated aorist] as made from the causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians teach that roots ending in an *u-* vowel may reduplicate with *i*, as representing the *ā* of the strengthened stem : thus, *bībhava* from *bhāv-aya*, as well as *būbhuva* from *bhū*. No example of such a formation, however, is met with except *ápiplavam* (ŚB, once); against it we find *dudruva*, *būbhava*, *rūruva*, *śuśruva* and others. " (P. 311).

Whitney is evidently thinking of Pāṇini's rule 7.4.81 *sravatiśṛṇotidravatipravatiplavaticyavatīnāṁ vā*. But this rule allows optional reduplication with *i* in the causative desiderative and reduplicated aorist[17] only when the root vowel is *a*.[18] But in Whitney's examples *būbhuva*, etc. the root vowel is *u*, so that the question of reduplication with *i* never arises in them. Moreover, the optional reduplication with *i* is limited by Pāṇini's rule to the six verbs *sravati* etc. which are listed in the rule itself. The verbs *bhū* and *ru* which Whitney cites are not in Pāṇini's list, and so they cannot reduplicate with *i* even when they have *a* as their root vowel.

The amount of new information which our results enable us to extract from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is really quite substantial. The actual words for

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[17] The reduplicated aorist reduplicates like the desideratives by 7.4.93 *sanval laghuni caṅpare 'naglope.*

[18] Since *apare* is continued from 7.4.80.

"optionally" occur in about three hundred rules, but their validity extends by *anuvṛtti* over some one hundred one fifty more. Moreover, almost all word-formation rules fall under one of the major *mahāvibhāṣās*. Altogether over one and a half thousand rules, well over a third of the total number of rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, are in the scope of *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, or *anyatarasyām*, and our findings impart a more precise meaning to each one of them.

This fills a big gap in the history of the Sanskrit language. Not much literature has come down to us from the time of Pāṇini, so that we are often in a position to see only the Vedic beginning and classical end point of a development, without being able to get a concrete picture of the intermediate stage. The areas where such information is most welcome for this purpose, and where it has been hardest to get, are precisely those where there is ongoing variation, that is, the optional rules. We can now fix a sharp profile of these fluid areas at Pāṇini's time, and determine exactly which developments of classical Sanskrit had just begun then and which were already nearing completion, a differentiation which Pāṇini's rules as they were previously read did not allow us to make. It is possible that we can also use this more exact information to get a firmer idea of Pāṇini's date.

To appreciate the significance of all this, we need only consider how dependent we really are on Pāṇini's rules. Modern Sanskrit grammars have abandoned Whitney's ambition to rely only on literary usage, and freely resort to Pāṇini where the facts are not otherwise clear. The more detailed grammars, such as those of Wackernagel-Debrunner and Renou, are thoroughly cross-referenced to Pāṇini. For innumerable points they first cite the Vedic facts and then proceed to give the classical facts according to Pāṇini. However, our results often put a quite different complexion on the classical facts in so far as optional rules are concerned.

Taking as our example again the optional *nUM* augment in participles, it is instructive to compare Wackernagel's version of the facts with Whitney's. Wackernagel (2.2,419) states concerning the future participle: "In class. both *-syántī-* and *-syatī-* are current, but in preclass. so far only *-syántī-* has been attested." Whereas Whitney had correctly noted that *-syatī-* "is everywhere extremely rare", Wackernagel just gives a straight option, presumably on the basis of Pāṇini's rule 7.1.80.

Thus, neither Whitney nor Wackernagel could know the full import of Pāṇini's rule. Whitney went by his corpus and implicitly condemned Pāṇini for giving an inaccurate rule; Wackernagel went by what he thought Pāṇini was saying and gave an inaccurate description of Classical Sanskrit usage.

This example is typical in that Wackernagel often, as here, is caused by his interpretation of Pāṇini's optional rules to give an exaggerated picture of the differences between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. To cite another such case, according to Wackernagel 2.2,467, feminines from *u*-stem adjectives were formed as follows: in Ṛgvedic with obligatory *-vī* (e.g. *sādhvī* 'good'), in the later pre-Classical language predominantly with *-vī*, but also occasionally with *-u* or *-ū* (e.g. *sādhū̆*, or more commonly *sādhvī*), and in Classical Sanskrit (by which Wackernagel means Pāṇini) either with *-vī* or *-u*. This statement makes it look as if the pre-Classical option *-u* had risen to a par with *-vī* by Pāṇini's time. But if we look at Pāṇini's rule on which Wackernagel's statement is based, 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt*, we see that it introduces *-vī* (the suffix *-ṄīP*) as a preferred option (*vā*). In other words, Pāṇini's Sanskrit is not significantly different from the post-Ṛgvedic pre-Classical language on this point. In other cases a shift in the pattern of preferences, previously hidden, now becomes apparent.

Finally, our findings will interest even non-Sanskritists because of the controversy which has recently arisen within linguistics about the nature of "optional" rules and their status in generative grammars. Pāṇini's solution is quite different from the principal approaches which are being explored today: *variable rules*, which incorporate statistical information on the conditioning factors, grammatical as well as extra-grammatical (Labov 1972), and *implicational hierarchies* (also known as squishes), which establish a ranking of rules or of conditioning environments, limited to grammatical factors in present proposals (Bailey 1973, Ross 1973). The treatment of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is formally more restricted in that it involves only adding the modality "should" to the modality "may" which underlies undifferentiated optionality.

It is too early to pick the winner among these competing solutions, but Pāṇini's has to be recognized as a serious contender. The key to resolving the issue is to find out to what extent the pattern of variation which we observe in optional rules can be accounted for by a theory of the *use* of language (performance), rather than a theory of the *structure* of language (competence). I have elsewhere (Kiparsky 1971) suggested that much of Labov's data on English phonological rules may reflect a predictable preference for articulatorily simpler and perceptually clearer variants among those which the optional rules make available. To the extent that my conjecture proves true, and holds for other languages, the patterns of variation do not belong in grammar, and the devices introduced by Labov for representing them are unnecessary. The syntactic squishes uncovered by Ross also invite explanation in the psychology of speech production and perception. If this whole program can be carried out, then the mechanisms presently being considered are too rich. But on the other hand, simple "optionality" is almost certainly insufficient. We do not have to go to the recent variationist literature to see that. Any traditional grammar is full of facts which show that preferences among alternatives cannot always be motivated independently by functional or other factors. Recall the example of the English past participles quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The preferences are irreducible facts which a speaker of English knows about the language, simply because he has learned them from usage. At least this much, therefore, will have to be included on the grammatical side if a complete account of linguistic variation is to be given.

So it seems that some system of intermediate richness such as that of Pāṇini may well be just what is required. Whatever the verdict eventually turns out to be, it is at any rate a notable fact that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the most comprehensive generative grammar written so far, is also the only one in which linguistic variability has been systematically treated.

CHAPTER II

PĀṆINI AND THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

In this chapter and the next two chapters, we will systematically compare what Pāṇini's optional rules say with what Sanskrit authors do, in order to check whether the difference between *vā* and *vibhāṣā* options shows up in usage as predicted by our hypothesis. Our first object of comparison will be the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. This is in some respects the most demanding test which our hypothesis must pass, for it is one where we are entitled to expect very close agreement between rules and usage. No dialect differences or time differences stand between them here, so that we will have no easy excuses if they do not agree.

Unfortunately, the importance of the evidence is not matched by its quantity. The mere fact that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a single work, and moreover a short one, means that we will not get much Sanskrit out of it. In addition the *Sūtra* style, with its "nominal" character, cuts down on the kinds of grammatical phenomena that we will find illustrated in the rules, making them largely useless for verb morphology and syntax. And finally, we cannot use them as information on Pāṇini's *sandhi* usage, since nothing guarantees the authenticity of the present text in that regard[1]

So it is primarily nominal morphology, and especially word-formation, where we will be able to extract independent information about Pāṇini's own speech preferences from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. This will still be enough to give us a firm basis of comparison, since the extensive morphology of Sanskrit is treated by Pāṇini in a particularly thorough fashion.

Even in morphology, however, we must keep in mind certain limitations. Words which belong to Pāṇini's technical terminology cannot be given much weight in assessing his own morphological usage. For they are not necessarily of his own devising. Many of them — and we do not always know exactly which ones — are traditional terms which Pāṇini took from the works of previous linguists. The morphology of these terms may well reflect older stages, or other dialects, of the Sanskrit language. Some of them are not even derivable within Pāṇini's system (e. g. *ārdhadhātuka*, *sārvadhātuka*), let alone consistent with the preference among Pāṇini's optional rules. Unfortunately, the terms whose Pāṇinian origin is most likely, namely the short made-up expressions of the type *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, are just those which are least useful for our purposes, precisely because of their artificial character.

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[1] On the contrary, there are some facts which virtually guarantee its inauthenticity : there are obligatory *sandhi* rules which are never observed in the text : 8.3.32 *ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam* requires a copy of a final *ṅ*, *ṇ* or *n* after a short vowel to be obligatorily (*nityam*) added before a following vowel, e.g. *kurvan āste* → *kurvan nāste.* Accordingly, 6.1.77 should not read *iko yaṇ aci*, but *iko yaṇ ṇaci*, and so on.

We will therefore largely set aside Pāṇini's traditional technical terminology in this chapter. An exception will be made only for those relatively few grammatical terms which are *specifically* taken into account *(pratipadokta)* in Pāṇinian rules, such as *(karma)-pravacanīya* and *pragṛhya* (see items 4, 12 f below). The rest will be subjected to a brief separate examination in Ch. 5.

Our procedure will be to proceed rule by rule, taking first, in their proper sequence, a group of straightforward cases requiring little or no discussion (items 1–11). Next we turn to various more complicated cases : those involving a *vā* or *vibhāṣā* which extends by *anuvṛtti* over a large numbers of rules (12–16—this category includes the so-called *māhāvibhāṣās*); cases where the optionality concerns a negative rule, i.e. where *vā* and *vibhāṣā* must be read with *na* or *a-* (17–19); cases where it is the form in which a word is *mentioned*, rather than *used*, which is significant (18–22); and cases where Pāṇini is forced to " round off " a variation pattern whose description would overly complicate the grammar (23–24).

(1) 2.3.71 *kṛtyānāṁ kartari vā* [50 *ṣaṣṭhī*]

According to this rule, the agent of *kṛtya* (gerundive) formations is preferably *(vā)* in the genitive, as opposed to the marginal option of the instrumental by 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*. Pāṇini himself uses the genitive in the only relevant example in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī :* 4.4.51 *tad asya paṇyam.*

(2) 3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ* [109 *kyap*]

The roots *kṛ* ' make ' and *vṛṣ* ' rain ' may optionally form their future passive participles (*kṛtya* forms, gerundives)[2] by means of the suffix *KyaP* (unaccented *ya*[3] with weak grade of the root[4]). For *vṛṣ* this suffix would otherwise be obligatory by 3.1.110 *ṛdupadhāc cākḷpicṛteḥ*. The other option is to add *ṆyaT* (*ya* with *vṛddhi*[5] or *guṇa*[6] and with *svarita* accent[7]) by the general rule 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*, which provides for *ṆyaT* after roots ending in *ṛ* or a consonant. Now the special option of using *KyaP* with these two roots is *vibhāṣā*, that is a marginal, relatively less preferable alternative compared to *ṆyaT*. If, then, the form which is designated as preferred by Pāṇini is *kārya*, then it ought to be the case that he also prefers to use it himself in his rules when the occasion arises. And in fact, the future passive participle of *kṛ* in Pāṇini is always *kārya*, never *kṛtya* :[8]

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[2] 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*: cf. 3.3.113, 163, 169, 171, 172, 3.4.70 for their uses.

[3] 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* ' case suffixes and suffixes with diacritic *P* are unaccented '.

[4] 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* ' suffixes with diacritic *K* or *Ṅ* do not trigger *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* '.

[5] Viz. *kārya*, by 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti.*

[6] Viz. *varṣya*. Here 7.2.115 is inapplicable because of the structure of the root, and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* applies instead to give *guṇa*.

[7] 6.1.185 *tit svaritam.*

1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ* kāryam
5.1.93 *tena parijayyalabhya*kārya*sukaram*
5.1.96 *tatra ca dīyate* kāryaṁ *bhavavat*
5.2.20 *śālīnakaupīne adhṛṣṭā*kāryayoḥ

Thus Pāṇini's usage on this point follows the preference he expresses in his optional rule.

(3) 3.4.83 *vido laṭo vā* [82 *parasmaipadānāṁ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ*]

The active person suffixes *tiP tas jhi siP thas tha miP vas mas*[9] can be replaced in the present tense of *vid* ' know ' respectively by *ṆaL atus us thaL athus a ṆaL va ma*, e.g. 3. s.g. *vetti* or *veda* ' knows '. The optional status of this replacement is indicated in the rule by *vā* ' preferably '. That is to say, Pāṇini prefers applying the rule to not applying it. He would rather say *veda* than *vetti*, and so on. And, in the only case where the choice comes up, he indeed says *veda* : 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad* veda.[10]

(4) 3.4.68 *bhavyageyapravacanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyāpātyā vā* [67 *kartari*]

The words *bhavya* etc. are optionally, and preferably (*vā)* used to express the agent [*kartari*], i. e. in an active sense. The less preferred alternative is given by 3.4.70 *tayor eva* [viz. 89 *karmaṇi ca bhāve ca*] *kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*, which specifies that *kṛtya* formations, of which these words are examples, are used to express the object *(karmaṇi)* or a state or action *(bhāve)* — that is, a passive or impersonal sense. Pāṇini himself uses two of the words in question elsewhere in the grammar, both in an active sense. In 5.3.104 *dravyaṃ ca bhavye*, *bhavya* means ' prudent, proper, being as one ought to be ' and accordingly is definitely active. The second word, *pravacanīya,* is used, always in the active sense, in the term *karmapravacanīya* ' preposition ', litarally ' that which tells the action '. Pāṇini's usage is again consistent with the preference expressed in his optional rule. Strictly speaking, in connection with this rule Pāṇini's usages cannot be cited as indicating preferred alternative forms, because the option has to do with two different meanings, active and passive. Still these usages point out that Pāṇini did not use these forms in the passive in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* which is the less preferred alternative.

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[8] The form *kṛtya* serves only as a technical term for the class of future passive participle suffixes. Cf. Ch. 6 below for discussion of this in connection with other morphological features of Pāṇini's traditional technical terminology.

[9] 3.4.78.

[10] In 7.1.7 *vetter vibhāṣā*, which adds the optional augment *rUṬ* (6) to the 3.pl. suffix *jha* (3) in the middle (5 *ātmanepadeṣu*) voice of this verb (e. g. *saṁvidrate* ~ *saṁvidate*) there was no choice. Pāṇini was *forced* to use *vetti*, because rule 7.1.7 is applicable in the second conjugation only. The reference to a middle verb in the active voice is normal (*śtipā nirdeśa*), cf. *sūti* in 7.2.44 for what is normally *sūte* ' gives birth '.

(**5**) 5.4.8 *vibhāṣā'ñcer adikstriyām* [7 *khaḥ*]

Stems ending in the suffix *añc* can optionally get the suffix *kha* (= *īna*[11]) without change of meaning (*svārthe*), except in the feminine of direction words, e.g. *prāṅ*[12] or *prācīna* ' eastern, prior, front ' (but only *prācī* ' eastern (fem.) ' not *prācīna,* in this meaning).[13]

This being a *vibhāṣā* or marginal option, Pāṇini is expressing his preference for the simple forms *prāṅ,* etc. over their suffixed synonyms *prācīna* etc. This is borne out by the usage of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Words in *añc* are very common there and they always appear without *īna,* e.g. 1.1.75 *eṅ* prācāṁ *deśe* (not **prācīnānām*), 2.4.60 *iñaḥ* prācām, 3.1.90 *kuṣirajoḥ* prācāṁ *śyan parasmaipadaṁ ca,* and similarly 3.4.18, 4 1.17, 4.1.43 4.1.160, 4.2.76, 4.2.120, 4.2.123, 4.2.139, 3.3.80, 5.3.94, 5.4.101, 6.2.74, 6.2.99, 6.3.10, 7.3.14, 7.3.24, 8.2.86; 3.4.19 udīcāṁ *māṅo vyatīhāre* (not *udīcīnānāṁ*), 4.1.130 *ārag* udīcām, 4.2.74 *udak ca vipāśaḥ* (not *udīcīnaṁ*), and similarly 4.1.153, 4.1.157, 6.2.89, 6.3.32, 7.3.46. The evidence in favour of our hypothesis is in this case overwhelming.

(**6**) 5.4.10 *sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti cet* [9 *cha*]

A stem ending in *sthāna* can marginally (*vibhāṣā*) be suffixed with *cha* (= *īya*[14]) if it is compounded with a word denoting something instead of which another thing stands, e.g. *pitṛsthāna* or *pitṛsthānīya* ' instead of a father, replacing a father '. As the rule is marked by *vibhāṣā,* it is preferably not applied, so that Pāṇini is recommending the

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[11] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām.*

[12] From *pra* + *añc* + *s* by 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ,* 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṁ hal,* 8.2.23 *saṁyogāntasya lopaḥ,* 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ.*

[13] Cf. W.2.2, 430 for these variants.

[14] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām.*

-sthāna form over the synonymous *-sthānīya* form. And indeed he uses the *-sthāna* form himself in 1.4.4 *neyāṅuvaṅ-*sthānāv *astrī*, where *iyaṅuvaṅsthāna* refers to *nadī* stems which get *iyaṄ* and *uvAṄ*[15] as replacements of their final *ī* and *ū*. This is not a clear case, however; for *iyaṅuvaṅsthānau* can also be interpreted differently.

(7) 5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye* [50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadya-kartari*]

The suffix *sātI* is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) added to a nominal stem compounded with the roots *kṛ* 'make', *bhū* 'become', or *as* 'become' to express that something completely changes into that which the stem denotes, e. g. *udakasādbhavati* 'becomes water'. The preferred alternative is to add the suffix *CvI*[16], e. g. *udakībhavati* Pāṇini himself uses *CvI* in 3.3.150 *citrīkaraṇe* ca and 1.3.70 *liyaḥ saṁmānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoś ca.*[17] On the other hand, Pāṇini never uses the suffix *sāt*.

(8) 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* [151 *kap*] [113 *bahuvrīhau*]

Bahuvrīhi compounds for which suffixes are not expressly provided by other rules may marginally (*vibhāṣā*) get the suffix *kaP* (unaccented *ka*[18]), e.g. *bahukhaṭvaka* or (preferably) *bahukhaṭva* 'possessing many beds'. This choice comes up on every page of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and Pāṇini has nearly always preferred the form without *ka*, in accordance with his own rule. There are so many cases that it is pointless to collect them all. What follows is a representative selection of the *bahuvrīhis* that could have *ka* by this rule but are used by Pāṇini without *ka*, and a listing, intended to be complete, of the forms with *ka*.

Here are some examples of *bahuvrīhis* falling under the present rule but lacking *ka* :

8.3.35	śarpare *visarjanīyaḥ* (*śarparake)
4.1.50	*krītāt* karaṇapūrvāt (*-pūrvakāt)
8.2.37	ekāco *baśo bhaṣ* jhaṣantasya *sdhvoḥ* (*ekāckasya, jhaṣantakasya)
1.2.5	*asaṁyogāl liṭ* kit (*kitkaḥ)
1.3.1	bhūvādayo, *dhātavaḥ* (*bhūvādikāḥ)
1.1.24	ṣṇāntā *ṣaṭ* (ṣṇāntakā)

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[15] E.g. by 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvāṁ yvor iyaṅuvaṅau.*

[16] 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari cviḥ.* It is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* with *a* → *ī* by 7.4.32 *asya cvau.*

[17] Also in the term *avyayībhāva*, cf. below.

[18] 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.*

2.4.11	gavāśvaprabhṛtīni *ca* (*gavāśvaprabhṛtikāni)
3.3.160	icchārthebhyo *vibhāṣā vartamāne* (*icchārthakebhyo)
3.1.74	vā'sarūpo '*striyām* (*-'sarūpako)
6.4.96	*chāder ghe* 'dvyupasargasya (*'dvyupasargakasya)
5.2.87	sapūrvāc *ca* (*sapūrvakāc)
4.1.53	asvāṅgapūrvapadād *vā* (*-padakāt)
1.1.7	*halo* 'nantarāḥ *saṁyogaḥ* (*anantarakāḥ)
1.2.44	ekavibhakti *cāpūrvanipāte* (*ekavibhaktikaṁ)

Several hundred such cases could easily be culled from the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

On the other side, what *bahuvrīhis* do have the suffix *ka* in Pāṇini? In a number of cases we find *ka* where Pāṇini's own rules require it obligatorily after *ṛ*, as in *samānakartṛka* and similar cases (1.3.88, 3.1.7, 3.2.47, 3.3.158, 3.4.21), where *ka* is necessary by 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*, and in the words *bhāṣitapuṁska anarthaka*, where *ka* is necessary by 5.4.151 *uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. These words do not fall in the domain of the optional rule. Among the words that do fall in its domain, the only ones in which *ka* is actually employed by Pāṇini are the words in *-karma : samānakarmaka* 'having the same object' in 3.4.48 *hiṁsārthānāṁ ca* samānakarmakāṇām, *sakarmaka* 'having an object, transitive' in 1.3.53 *udeś caraḥ* sakarmakāt, *akarmaka* 'having no object, intransitive' in 1.3.26, 1.3.35, 1.3.45, 1.3.49. 1.3.85, 1.3.88, 1.4.52, 3.2.148, 3.4.69, 3.4.72, 7.4.57, *tapaḥkarmaka* 'having *tapas* 'austerity' as its object' in 3.1.88 *tapaḥ* tapaḥkarmakasya*iva*. It is possible that *ka* after *-karma* is preferred because of the parallelism with *-kartṛ*, where *ka* is obligatory by 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca* (e.g. *samānakarmaka* on the model of *samānakartṛka*). Moreover, *ka* is helpful in avoiding ambiguity in a rule like the just cited 3.1.88, where **tapaḥ tapaḥkarmasyaiva* would be confusing because *tapaḥkarma* could easily be understood as a *tatpuruṣa* like *yajñakarma* 'sacrificial act' (1.2.34) and similar compounds.

At any rate, it is clear that the absence of optional *ka* strongly predominates in Pāṇini's own language, in complete accord with the preference stated in his rule.[19]

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[19] The *Mahābhāṣya* continues this preference, but not so consistently. It has optional *-ka* in many more cases, cf. *sānubandhaka* 'having a diacritic (*anubandha*)', *śāstrapūrvaka* 'based on (grammatical) theory', *alomaka* 'hairless', etc.

(9) 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya* [78 *sahasya saḥ*]

Saha ' with ' may be replaced by *sa* when it is an *upasarjana* member of a compound, in effect the initial member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound of the type *sahaputra, saputra* ' with [his] son (s) '. This process is given as a *vā* option, which means that Pāṇini prefers the substitute *sa* to the basic form *saha.* This is confirmed by the fact that Pāṇini himself uses *sa* and not *saha :*

1.3.53 *udaś caraḥ* sakarmakāt
4.1.34 *vibhāṣā* sapūrvasya
5.1.112 *samāpanāt* sapūrvapadāt
5.2.87 sapūrvāc *ca*
8.1.26 sapūrvāyāḥ *prathamāyā vibhāṣā*
8.1.68 sagatir *api tiṅ*
8.4.21 *ubhau* sābhyāsasya

(10) 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā* [15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*] [14 *sarvanāmnaḥ*]

The abl. sg. *ṄasI* and loc. sg. *Ṅi* are optionally replaced by the suffixes *smāt* and *smin*, respectively, after the nine pronouns *pūrva* ' former, first, eastern ', *para* ' other, higher, latter, last ', *avara* ' lower, later, least ', *dakṣiṇa* ' right, southern ', *uttara* ' left, upper, latter, northern ', *apara* ' other, latter ', *adhara* ' lower, previous ', *sva* ' self ', *antara* ' inner '. For example, the abl. sg. of *pūrva* is either *pūrvāt*[20] or *pūrvasmāt*, and the loc. sg. is either *pūrve* or *pūrvasmin.* Since we have to do with an option marked by *vā*, the replacement is preferred by Pāṇini, and we would therefore expect Pāṇini himself to use *pūrvasmāt* and *pūrvasmin* instead of the alternative forms. This is also what we find in the grammar :

1.1.57 *acaḥ* parasmin *pūrvavidhau*
3.3.136 *bhaviṣyati maryādavacane* avarasmin
3.3.137 parasmin *vibhāṣā*
3.4.4 *yathāvidhyanuprayogaḥ* pūrvasmin

There are no exceptions whatever. But two points must be kept in mind. First, according to both Pāṇini's rules and Sanskrit usage, these nine words, like other ordinarily pronominal words, are *not* pronouns in *bahuvrīhi* compounds (1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* [27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*]). In that case they are not subject to the present rule, and retain the inflection of nouns. A few typical examples follow :

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[20] From *pūrva* + *ṄasI* by 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasām ināt syāḥ* (*pūrva* + *āt*) and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*.

3.3.176 smottare *laṅ ca*
4.1.50 *krītāt* karaṇapūrvāt
6.1.120 *anudātte ca* kudhapare
7.1.37 *samāse* 'nañpūrve *ktvo lyap*
7.4.80 *oḥ* puyaṇjyapare
8.3.39 śarpare *visarjanīyaḥ*

This case is frequent, and Pāṇini's usage is completely consistent on this point.

Secondly, in *mentioning* (as opposed to *using*) a word, Pāṇini inflects it as a noun according to its final segment, regardless of its intrinsic class. The 3.sg. pres verb form *karoti* is declined as *i*-stem noun (6.4.108 *nityaṁ* karoteḥ), the indeclinable *upa* is declined as an *a*-stem noun (1.3.84 upāc *ca*, 1.4.87 upo '*dhike ca*), the pronoun *kim* is declined as a consonant-stem noun (5.4.70 kimaḥ *kṣepe*) and so forth. Invariably, when pronouns are *mentioned* in rules; they are not inflected as pronouns, but as nouns, e.g. *eka* ' one ' in 5.3.44 ekād *dho dhyamuñ anyatarasyām*. The ablative of *eka* would have to be *ekasmāt* if the word were *used*. A fortiori, therefore, the *optional* pronominal inflection allowed by 7.1.16 never appears when the pronouns are mentioned :

3.2.19 pūrve *kartari*
3.3.40 sve *puṣaḥ*
5.2.86 pūrvād *iniḥ*
5.3.36 dakṣiṇād *āc*
5.3.38 uttarāc *ca*
6.2.22 pūrve *bhūtapūrve*

The perfect consistency with which the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* observes these rather subtle conventions is remarkable in itself. With regard to the issue at hand, we have seen that the *vā* (preferred) option is always implemented in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where possible, subject to the constraints on its metalanguage.

(**11**) 7.3.115 *vibhāṣā dvitīyātṛtīyābhyām* [114 *syāḍ ḍhrasvaś ca*]
[111 *ṅiti*]

The augment *syāṬ*, with shortening of the preceding vowel, may be inserted before case suffixes with diacritic *Ṅ* after the feminine numerals *dvitīyā* ' second ' and *tṛtīyā* ' third '. The suffixes in question are dat. sg. *Ṅe*, abl. sg. *ṄasI*, gen. sg. *Ṅas*, and loc. sg. *Ṅi*. Being a *vibhāṣā* option, the augment is rather not used, according to Pāṇini, so that dat. sg. *tṛtīyāyai*, abl. and gen. sg. *tṛtīyāyāḥ*, and loc. sg. *tṛtīyāyām* are given as preferred over *tṛtīyasyai*, *tṛtīyasyāḥ*, and *tṛtīyasyām*, respectively. And this is also Pāṇini's own practice, without exception :

3.4.47 *upadaṁśas* tṛtīyāyām
3.4.53 dvitīyāyāṁ *ca*
5.4.46 *atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣv akartari* tṛtīyāyāḥ
6.2.153 *ūnārthakalahaṁ* tṛtīyāyāḥ
6.3.3 *ojaḥsaho 'bhyastamasas* tṛtīyāyāḥ
7.2.87 dvitīyāyāṁ *ca*

Turning now to cases of a more complex character, we come first to four rules which each expresses an option that is continued by *anuvṛtti* through a block of subsequent rules. These are especially interesting for a number of reasons. Because the validity of *vā* or *vibhāṣā* here extends over not one but many rules, each of the four cases provides not one but many empirical tests of our hypothesis regarding the difference in meaning between *vā* and *vibhāṣā*. And it is an intriguing question from the viewpoint of linguistics what natural blocks of optional rules can be found such that the application of each rule in the block is uniformly either favoured or disfavoured. Certainly current linguistic theory gives no reason to expect this curious situation to arise in a grammar.

(**12**) 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*

This regulates the relation between general and special rules up to the end of Book 3 of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. This section contains rules which introduced primary (deverbal) noun suffixes. The rule stipulates that special rules (*apavādas*) between 3.1.94 and 3.4.117 are all optional, and specifically constitute preferred options (*vā*). That is, they do not block the general rules obligatorily but as it were preferentially : the general rules *can* be applied instead, although the special rules are preferred.

An example will make this clear. Rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* introduces the two suffixes *NvuL* (*aka*[21] with *vṛddhi*[22] and presuffixal accent[23]) and *tṛC* (accented *tṛ*[24]) context-freely to express the agent. The next rule 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacā*-

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[21] 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau.*

[22] 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*, 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ.*

[23] 6.1.193 *liti.*

[24] 6.1.163 *citaḥ.*

dibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ assigns the special suffixes *Lyu* (*ana* with *guṇa*[25] and presuffixal accent[26]), *ṆinI* (*in* with *vṛddhi*[27]) and *aC* (aceented *a*[28]) to the three idiosyncratic classes of roots named in the rule and listed in the *Gaṇapāṭha*. For example, the agent noun to the root *nand* 'please' is formed with *Lyu (ana) : nandana* 'pleasing'. What 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* says is that this is not the **only** form, though it is the preferred one : we can alternatively use the general suffixes *ṆvuL* or *tṛC* to get synonymous *nandaka* and *nanditṛ*.

The canceling of disjunctivity along these lines is the traditionally accepted purpose of 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām,* and there is no doubt that this interpretation is correct. It is supported by the facts of Sanskrit usage, in that *kṛt* (primary) formations from special and general rules are found to coexist in usage as predicted. Moreover, it could be deduced from the structure of the system. For example, 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ,* a rule falling under the scope of 3.1.94' introduces *aṆ* (*a* with *vṛddhi*) after roots compounded with objects, e. g. *kumbhakāra* 'pot-maker'. By virtue of 3.1.94, *aṆ* does not block other *kṛt* suffixes from being added in this environment. A special prohibition 2.2.16 *kartari ca* was therefore necessary in order to block similar compounds with *tṛC* and *aka* (e.g. **kumbhakartṛ*, **kumbhakāraka*). Were it not for 3.1.94, 3.2.1 would automatically block these nonexisting forms from being derived, by virtue of the disjunctivity that holds between special and general rules in the grammar. Rule 2.2.16 would then be redundant. But when 3.1.94, interpreted in the above way, is included in the grammar, and only then, rule 2.2.16 is required. The fact that rule 2.2.16 is included in the grammar is therefore an internal structural argument *(jñāpaka)* for the traditional interpretation of 3.1.94.

There are two restrictions on rule 3.1.94 : *asarūpaḥ* and *astriyām*. The first says that the rule does not operate, and disjunctive ordering is therefore retained, when the special suffix is homonymous with the general suffix, i. e. differs at most in its diacritics. For example, 3.1.149 *prusṛlvaḥ samabhihāre vun* introduces *vuN* to express the agent of a repeated action with *pru* 'go', *sṛ* 'flow', *lū* 'cut'. Since *vuN* has the same phonological shape as the general suffix *ṆvuL* (3.1.133), namely *aka*, and differs from it only in that it gives *guṇa* and not *vṛddhi* grade to the root, it obligatorily sets aside *ṆvuL* in its domain, so that we derive, for example, only *saraka* 'flowing' by 3.1.149, not *sāraka* by 3.1.133, in the *samabhihāra* context.

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[25] 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.*

[26] Fn. 23.

[27] Fn. 22.

[28] Fn. 24.

The second restriction on 3.1.94 is that it does not operate when the special suffix is restricted to the feminine gender. For example, 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt* says that suffixed roots[29] take the suffix *-a* with the feminine ending *-ā* in the sense of state or action (*bhāve*). Nouns formed by this process, e.g. *cikīrṣā* 'desire of making', do *not* have synonyms formed with the other, more general suffixes of state or action. For example, we cannot apply 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* to form **cikīrṣti*.

Aside from these two kinds of cases, then, every special (*apavāda*) rule from 3,1.95 to 3.4.117 is provided with an implicit *vā* by 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*. This means that Pāṇini recommends those *kṛt* formations which are introduced by special (*apavāda*) rules over their synonyms which are introduced by general (*utsarga*) rules. I will now show that this preference shows up systematically in Pāṇini's own choice of words in the formulation of his grammatical rules.

(12a) The first special rule after 3.1.94 is 3.1.97 *aco yat*. It says that gerundives (future passive participles, or *kṛtyas*) from roots ending in vowels are formed with the suffix *yaT*.[30] By 3.1.94 this is favoured over the preceding general rule 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*, which gives for all roots the three *kṛtya* suffixes, *tavyaT* (= *tavyà*[31]), *tavya*, and *anīyaR* (= *ánīya*[32]), e.g. *dātavya*, *dānīya*. We find that Pāṇini consistently uses the special forms derived by *vā* rules. He uses *deya* in 5.4.55 deye *trā ca*, 4.3.47 deyam *ṛṇe*. He uses *stheya* (not *sthātavya*, *sthānīya*) in 1.3.23 *prakāśana*stheyā*khyayoś ca*. He uses *jayya*[33] (not *jetavya*, *jayanīya*) in 5.1.93 *tena pari*jayya*labhyakāryasukaram*.

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[29] I. e. desideratives and other derived verbs, which are roots by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*.

[30] With initial accent by 6.1.213 *yato 'nāvaḥ*, e. g. *déya* 'to be given' (*dā*).

[31] 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*.

[32] 6.1.217 *upottamaṁ riti*.

[33] With a special change of *e* to *ay* by 6.1.81 *kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe*.

(12b) 3.1.98 *por adupadhāt* says that *yaT* is preferred in the same function for roots with *a* followed by a labial consonant, e.g. *labhya* 'to be obtained'. It is an exception to 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*, which says that roots ending in *ṛ* and roots ending in consonants take the suffix *ṆyaT*. Since the suffixes *yaT* and *ṆyaT* are homophonous, 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* does not apply, and *ṆyaT* is blocked completely by the present rule. However, 3.1.124 with its subexception 3.1.98 is itself an exception to 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. Rule 3.1.94 is applicable, making it optional and preferred. And Pāṇini indeed uses the *yaT* form himself in 5.1.93 *tena parijayya*labhya*kāryasukaram*. But he never uses *tavya, anīya* forms.

(12c) The next several rules are similarly exceptions to 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat* directly, and block it obligatorily by virtue of homophony, and indirectly to 3.1.96, where 3.1.94 suspends the obligatory blocking. 3.1.99 *śakisahoś* ca adds preferably *yaT* to *śak* and *sah*, viz. *śakya* 'possible', *sahya* 'to be endured'. Pāṇini himself uses these forms in 6.1.81 *kṣayyajayyau* śakyārthe. He does not use the *-tavya, -anīya* forms.

(12d) 3.1.101 *avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu* recommends the three specially listed *(nipātana)*, forms in *yaT: avadya* 'blameworthy', *paṇya* 'for sale', and *varya* except in the sense 'to be warded off' (according to the commentators, it means 'to be wooed, nubile'). And *paṇya* is the form used by Pāṇini; 4.4.51 *tad asya* paṇyam; 5.3.99 *jīvikārthe* cāpaṇye; 6.2.13 *gantavya*paṇyaṁ *vāṇije*. It is only in the very rule introducing *paṇya*, where Pāṇini has to indicate its meaning by some different word, that he resorts to the marginal form *paṇitavya :* 3.1.101 *avadyapaṇyavaryā garhya*paṇitavyā*nirodheṣu*.[34]

(12e) 3.1.109 *etistuśāsuvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyap* adds *KyaP* (unaccented *ya* with weak grade of the root) to form gerundives of *i* 'go', *stu* 'praise', *śāsU* 'teach', *vṛ* 'choose', *dṛ* 'pierce', *juṣ* 'enjoy'. Again, by 3.1.94 these are preferred alternatives to the context-freely introduced *tavya(T)*, *-anīyaR*. And the *KyaP* form occurs in 1.2.53 *tad* aśiṣyaṁ *saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt*. *Śāsitavya* and *śāsanīya* do not occur in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; no gerundive forms of the other verbs in this group are used there. But 1.2.53 appears interpolated

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[34] This rule shows, if such a demonstration is needed, that the marginal variants in *tavya* etc. really were acceptable in Pāṇini's own speech. They are evidently not, for example, forms of some different dialect which Pāṇini is bringing in just for completeness' sake.

(**12f**) 3.1.119 *padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyesu ca*, introduces the suffix *KyaP* after *grah* ‘seize’ in various special idiosyncratic meanings, in particular, to denote a (type of) word (*pada*). This refers to words like *pragṛhya*, a technical term for certain words whose ending does not undergo external *sandhi*. Pāṇini has used *pragṛhya* four times : 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṁ* pragṛhyam; 6.1.125 *pluta*pragṛhyā *aci nityam*; 8.2.107 *eco* ’pragṛhyasyā*dūrāddhūte pūrvasyārdhasyād uttarasyedutau;* 8.4.57 *aṇo* pragṛhyasyā*nunasikaḥ*. He has never used the forms *pragrahītavya*, *pragrahaṇīya*, which he prescribes as non-*vā* alternatives, that is, according to our theory, marginal alternatives.

(**12g**) In 3.1.122 *amāvasyad anyatarasyām* Pāṇini interprets *amāvāsya* ‘night of the new moon’ as a gerundive, presumably from *amā-vas* ‘dwell together’,[35] and allows for an option between the long and the short root vowel (suffixes *ṆyaT* and *KyaP*). The rule is a *vā* or preferred alternative to 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. As expected, Pāṇini never uses the options *amāvastavya*, *amāvasanīya*, which he designates as marginal, but the *vā* option *amāvāsya* is used in 4.3.30 amāvāsyāyā *vā*.

(**12h**) A more important *apavāda* rule for gerundives is 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*. It adds *ṆyaT* (*ya* with *vṛddhi* of root-final vowels and of penultimate *a*, and with suffixal *svarita*) when the root ends in *ṛ* or a consonant, e.g. *kāryà* ‘to be done’. By 3.1.94 *vā’sarūpo ’striyām* this is optional, and preferable to *tavya(T)* and *anīya* (3.1.96). Again our interpretation is confirmed by Pāṇini’s own usage. Pāṇini uses *kārya* (not *kartavya*, *karaṇīya*) in 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ* kāryam : 5.1.93 *tena parijayyalabhyn*kārya*sukaram*, 5.1.96 *tatra ca dīyate* kāryaṁ *bhavavat*, 5.2.20 *śālīnakaupīne adhṛṣṭā*kārya*yoḥ*. Pāṇini uses *yājya(-ā)* ‘to be sacrificed’ (not *yaṣṭavya*, *yajanīya*) *in* 8.2.90 yājyā*ntaḥ*. Pāṇini uses *garhya* ‘to be blamed’,[36] rather than *garhitavya*, *garhaṇīya* : 3.1.101 *avadyapaṇyavaryā* garhya*paṇitavyanirodheṣu;* 4.4.30 *prayacchati* garhyam; 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāpa*garhyāt *prāṇisthād iniḥ*. Pāṇini uses *cikitsya* ‘to be cured’ rather than *cikitsitavya*, *cikitsanīya*, in 5.2.92 *kṣetriyac parakṣetre* cikitsyaḥ.

(**12i**) According to 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*, the suffix *Ka* (*a* with weak grade) expresses the agent of *sthā* ‘stand’ when the agent noun is compounded with another noun. By 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* this suffix is optional, but preferable to the alternative formations derived by the general rule for agent nouns 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau,* which introduces context-freely the suffixes *ṆvuL* (*aka* with *vṛddhi* and presuffixal accent) and *tṛC* (accented *tṛ*). Pāṇini's usage reflects this preference. He uses *anuttarapadastha* ' not located in a subsequent word ' in 8.3.45 *nityaṁ samāse* 'nuttarapadasthasya. He uses *prāṇistha* ' located in an animate being *(prāṇin)* ', referring e.g. to body parts, in 5.2.96 prāṇisthād *āto laj anyatarasyām*; 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāpagarhyāt* prāṇisthād *iniḥ.* He uses *kartṛstha* ' located in an agent *(kartṛ)* in 1.3.37 kartṛsthe *cāśarīre karmaṇi.* He uses *pratyayastha* ' located in a suffix ' in 7.3.44 pratyayasthāt *kāt pūrvasyāta id āpy asupaḥ.* He uses *tatstha* ' located there ' in 4.2.134 *manuṣya*tatstha*yor vuñ.* But he never uses the marginal forms with *ṆvuL (-sthāyaka)* or *tṛC (-sthātṛ).*[37]

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[35] Whether this derivation is right or wrong is of no concern to us here.

[36] No *vṛddhi* here because of the consonant cluster, cf. 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*

(12 j) By rule 3.2.168 *sanāśaṁsabhikṣa uḥ, u* is added to desideratives, *ā* + *śaṁs* ' wish ' and *bhikṣ* ' beg ' to form agent nouns which express either habit, obligation, or capacity (3.2.134 *ā kves tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu*). It is a special rule *(apavāda)* relative to 3.1.135 *tṛn,* which introduces *tṛ* with initial accent[38] context-freely in these meanings. By 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* the special suffix does not block out the general suffix but exists as a preferred variant alongside it. Pāṇini practises what he preaches when he uses *bhikṣu* rather than *bhikṣitṛ* ' beggar ' : 4.3.110 *pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṁ* bhikṣu*naṭasūtrayoḥ.*

(12k) Similarly, rule 3.2.175 *stheśabhāsapisakaso varac* assigns *varaC (vará)* to a number of roots, including *īś* ' rule ', in the same meaning, and again as a preferred variant to *tṛN* (3.1.133). This is reflected in Pāṇini's use of *īśvara* in 1.4.97 *adhir* īśvare; 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikaṃ yasya c*eśvara*vacanaṁ tatra saptamī*; 5.1.42 *tasy*eśvaraḥ; and of the derivative *aiśvarya* 'domination', 5.2.126 *svāminn* aiśvarye; 6.2.18 *patyāv* aiśvarye.

(12l) Rule 3.3.90 *yajayācayatavicchapracchhrakṣo naṅ* gives *naṄ (na* with weak grade *)* after the roots *yaj* ' sacrifice ', *yāc* ' ask ', *yat* ' stretch ', *vich* ' shine ', *prach* ' ask ' and *rakṣ* ' protect ' to express state or action (18 *bhāve*) or a *kāraka* other than the agent (19 *akartari kārake*). This accounts for the nouns *yajña* ' sacrifice ', *yācñā* ' request ', *yatna* ' effort ', *viśna* ' luster ', *praśna* ' question ', *rakṣṇa* ' protection '. According to 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* they are preferred to synonymous nouns formed with *GHaÑ* by 18 *bhāve* and 19 *akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām*, viz. *yāga*, *yāka*, *yāta* etc. For the same reason, they are preferred to the suffix *LyuṬ* (*ana* with *guṇa* and presuffixal accent) added context-freely to express state or action *(bhāva)* by 3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*, e.g. *yajana* ' sacrifice '. Pāṇini's own usage agrees with this preference. He uses *yajña* (not *yāga*, *yajana*) in 3 3.31 yajñe *sami stuvaḥ*; 3.3.32 *pre stro* 'yajñe; 3.3.47 *parau* yajñe; 4.3.68 *kratu*yajñe*bhyaś ca*; 6.4.54 *śamitā* yajñe; and 5.1.95 *tasya ca dakṣiṇā* yajñā*khyebhyaḥ*. He uses *yatna* and *prayatna* (not *-yāta*, *-yatana*) in 1.3.47 *bhāṣaṇopasaṁbhāṣājñāna*yatna*vimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ*; 1.1.9 *tulyāsya*-prayatnaṁ *savarṇam*; 8.3.18 *vyor laghu*prayatna*taraḥ śākaṭāyanasya*. He uses *praśna* (not *prācha*, *pracchana*) in 3.2.117 praśne *cāsannakāle*; 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭasaṁ*praśna*prārthaneṣu liṅ*; 8.1.32 *satyaṁ* praśne; 8.1.44 *kiṁ kriyā*praśne *'nupasargam apratiṣiddham*; 8.2.100 *anudāttaṁ* praśnānt*ābhipūjitayoḥ*; 8.2.105 *anantyasyāpi* praśnā*khyānayoḥ*.

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[37] Note that a similar argument cannot be made from 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* and the two following rules, because the compounding of an (object) genitive with *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* is prohibited anyway by 2.2.16 *kartari ca*, as discussed above (p. 28).

[38] 6.1.197 *ñnity ādir nityam.*

(12m) Rule 3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ* provides the several homonymous roots *dā* and *dhā* called *ghu*[39] with a special suffix *Ki* (*i* with loss of the root vowel *ā*[40]). The suffix is restricted to compounds with preverbs *(upasargas)* and expresses the same categories as the preceding; like it, it is given by Pāṇini's system as a preferred alternative to the general suffixes introduced in 3.3.18-19, 115. And it is indeed this alternative to which Pāṇini himself resorts every time the occasion arises to use nouns with those meanings. Pāṇini uses *antardhi* ' hiding ' (not *antardhāna* with *LyuṬ* or *antardhāya* with *GHaÑ*) in 1.4.28 antardhau *yenādarśanam icchati*; 1.4.71 *tiro* 'ntardhau. He uses *avadhi* ' adjoining area ' in 4.2.124 *janapadatad*avadhyoś *ca*. He uses *vidhi* ' rule ' in 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nal*vidhau; 1.1.72 *yena* vidhis *tadantasya*; 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyaya*vidhis *tadādi pratyaye 'ṅgam*; 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ pada*vidhiḥ; 3.3.161 vidhi*nimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭasaṁpraśnaprārthaneśu liṅ* (in the meaning ' command '); 3.4.46 *kaṣādiṣu yathā*vidhy *anu*-

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[39] By 1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adāp*.

[40] By 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*.

prayogaḥ; 3.4.4 *yathā*vidhy *anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvarasaṁjñātug*vidhiṣu *kṛti*.

Rule 3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve* is not a case in point. It provides for the suffix *KtiN* (= *ti* with initial accent and weak grade) after *sthā* ' stand ', *gā* ' sing ', *pā* ' drink ' and *pac* ' cook ', viz. *sthiti*, *gīti*, *pīti*, *pakti*. These words are used to denote state or action (*bhāva*), and coexist in that function with formations made from these roots with the suffix *GHaÑ* (= *a* with initial accent and *vṛddhi*), by 3.3.18 *bhāve*, and *LyuṬ* (*ana* with presuffixal accent and *guṇa*), e.g. *pāka* and *pacana*. If the present rule introducing *KtiN* were an exception (*apavāda*) to the two general rules introducing *GHaÑ* and *LyuṬ*, it would block them obligatorily, because *KtiN* is always feminine and 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* is expressly inapplicable in the feminine, Then only the words *pakti* etc. could be formed, and *pāka*, *pacana* etc. would be underivable. In fact, however, the present rule 3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve* is an exception rather to two other rules. With respect to *pac*, it is an exception to 3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo 'ṅ* (roots with diacritic *Ṣ* and the root *bhid* ' split ' get the suffix *a*, to which the feminine suffix *ā* is always added — since the full underlying form of *pac* is *DUpacAṢ* it would be subject to this rule were it not for the special rule 3.3.95). And with respect to *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, it is an exception to 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge* (roots in *ā* get *a* with fem. *ā* if with preverbs). Both of these, in turn, are exceptions to the very general rule 3.3.94 *striyāṁ ktin* [16 *bhāve*] [17 *akartari ca kārake*], which introduces the feminine *KtiN* for *any* root in several meanings including state and action (*bhāva*). Since all these exceptions are rules introducing feminine suffixes, they block out the general rules completely, for here 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* is inapplicable and the general conventions remain in force. But 3.3.94 *striyāṁ ktin* is not an exception to the rules for *GHaÑ* and *LyuṬ*, being fully as general as they. Therefore, the system of rules expresses *no* preference for *KtiN* as against *GHaÑ* and *LyuṬ* : all three are on a par. This is consistent with the fact that Pāṇini himself uses *pāka*, not *pakti* : 5.2.24 *tasya* pāka*mūle pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ kuṇabjāhacau*, 5.4.65 *śūlāt* pāke, 6.1.27 *śṛtaṁ* pāke.

This concludes our investigation of the rules falling under the scope of 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*. Not all these rules are exemplified in Pāṇini's text, but sufficiently many of them are to make it quite clear that the word *vā* consistently has the sense which our hypothesis assigns to it.

Every rule which is supplied with 'vā' by 3.1.94 is applied by Pāṇini himself whenever the occasion arises.

How could this remarkable principle of 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo'striyām* come to hold true? It is valid for the primary suffixes as a whole, and therefore must be a property of the Sanskrit language, or perhaps of language in general, rather than an artifact of Pāṇini's linguistic analysis. Parallel examples from English derivational morphology come to mind. When two derived words coexist, it is generally the morphologically more specialized one which is preferred in use. Such special forms as *width*, *fury*, *scarcity boredom* are far more common than the corresponding, derivatives with the general suffix *-ness*: *wideness*, *furiousness*, *scarceness*, *boredness*. The disjunctivity is often absolute. For example, nouns like *cook*, *judge* set aside *cooker*, *judger* in the area of meaning proper to the former. It is interesting that in Sanskrit, unlike in English, the blocking is relativized for all deverbal (*kṛt*) derivation, if Pāṇini's description is to be relied on.

Four other rules whose *vā* or *vibhāṣā* has extended scope by *anuvṛtti* merit discussion here. They also pertain to derivational morpology. But unlike 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*, the options they provide are not between two word-formation processes, but between a word-formation process and no word-formation process at all, namely the analytic paraphrase which expresses the meaning of a derivational suffix by syntactic means. The rules in question are the two so-called *mahāvibhāṣās*, 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā* and 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*, to which we will add 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*, and 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā*.

(13) 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā*

The scope of this rule extends to the end of 5.2, and thus includes all rules introducing *taddhita* (secondary) suffixes except for the immediately preceding five rules. The rule stipulates that the word-formation rules which follow apply to the first of the semantically-syntactically related words specified in each rule, and that they apply optionally and preferably (*vā*).

(13a) For example, 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* and 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ* together specify that a descendant of Garga, Śakala etc. is to be expressed by the suffix *yaÑ* (*ya* with stem-initial *vṛddhi* and accent[41]), e.g. *gārgya*, *śākalya*. Rule 4.1.82

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[41] 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*, 6.1.197 *ñnity ādir nityam*.

says that the derivational suffix is to be added to the name of the ancestor, referred to by the first item in rule 4.1.92 (*tasya*). Rule 4.1.82 furthermore says that this process is optional, so that a descendant of Garga can also be referred to as *gargasya apatyam* ' descendant of Garga '. Finally, rule 4.1.82 also says, according to our interpretation, that the derived word obtained by applying the rule, e.g. *gārgya*, is preferred (*vā*) to the analytic paraphrase obtained by not applying the rule, e.g. *gargasya apatyam*. Not surprisingly, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* follows its own recommendation and always uses the derived word rather than the analytic paraphrase. Thus, we find *gārgya* and never *gargasya apatyam* :

7.3.99 *aḍ* gārgya*gālavayoḥ*
8.3.20 *oto* gārgya*sya*
8.4.67 *nodattasvaritodayam a*gārgya*kāśyapagālavānām* ;

śākalya and never *śakalasya apatyam* :

1.1.16 *saṁbuddhau* śākalya*syetāv anārṣe*
6.1.127 *iko 'savarṇe* śākalya*sya hrasvaś ca*
8.3.19 *lopaḥ* śākalya*sya*
8.4.51 *sarvatra* śākalya*sya*

Similarly, of course, numerous other names cited in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Vaiśampāyana, Śākaṭāyana etc.). It would be pointless to grind through all their derivations here. A few typical examples of other kinds of *taddhita* formations may be included here, however.

(**13b**) Rule 4.2.81 *janapade lup* forms name of countries by deletion of suffixes, i.e. by " zero derivation " from the designation of its inhabitants, e.g. *pañcālāḥ* ' the Pañcāla country ' (as well as ' the Pañcālas '). Pāṇini himself applies this rule, e.g. in *prācyabhārateṣu* ' in the eastern Bharata country ', rather than using the optional paraphrase *prācyabharatānāṁ janapade :* 8.3.75 *pariskandaḥ prācyabharateṣu.*

(**13c**) 4.3.23 *sāyaṁciraṁprāhṇeprage 'vyayebhyaṣ ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca* affixes *Ṭyu(L)* (*ana*[42]) with the additional suffix-initial augment *t*, to certain words, including indeclinables, in the meanings specified in 4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ* ' arisen or happened then (there) ', and following rules. By this rule, we can derive e. g. *adyatana* 'that which has happened today' from *adya* 'today'. As this rule comes under 4.1.92, it is optional, but applies preferentially over the alternative paraphrase *adya jātaḥ*. And Pāṇini has applied the rule in *anadyatana* 'that which has not happened today', e.g. 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* (also 3.3.5, 3.3.135, 5.3.21).

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[42] With the feminine suffix *ī* by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnajmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ* and either pre-suffixal accent (*ṬyuL*, by 6.1.193 *liti*) or suffix-initia-accent (*Ṭyu*, by 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

I will not belabor the obvious by citing more cases. As far as I have been able to determine, *every rule which is supplied with 'vā' by 4.1.92 is applied by Pāṇini himself whenever possible.*

(**14**) 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*

As is clear from the *Mahābhāṣya,* 2.1.11 originally formed a single rule with what in the present text is the next rule 2.1.12 *apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā*. Their separation was proposed by Patañjali in order to make *vibhāṣā* into an *adhikāra* extending through the whole compound section.

(**14a**) By 2.1.12, the indeclinables *apa, pari, bahiḥ,* and those ending in the root *añc* can optionally be compounded with an ablative into an *avyayībhāva* (indeclinable) compound, e.g. *prāggrāmam* 'up to the village'. Unlike the previous two options discussed above, this one is marked as marginal by *vibhāṣā*. That is, the rule is better *not* applied, so that the analytic paraphrase *prāg grāmāt* is here preferred to the compound form *prāggrāmam*.

As predicted, Pāṇini himself never uses the compound when he has a chance, but always the full analytic form :

4.2.74	udak *ca* vipāśaḥ (not **udagvipāśaṁ*)
1.4.80	*te* prāg dhātoḥ (not **prāgdhātu*)
1.4.56	prāg rīśvarān *nipātāḥ* (not **prāgrīśvaraṁ*)
2.1.3	prāk kaḍārāt *samāsaḥ*
4.4.1	prāg vahateṣ *ṭhak*
4.1.83	prāg dīvyato *'ṇ*
4.4.75	prāg ghitād *yat*
5.1.1	prāk krītāc *chaḥ*
5.1.18	prāg vateṣ *ṭhañ*
5.2.1	prāg diśo *vibhaktiḥ*
5.3.49	prāg ekādaśabhyo *'cchandasi*[43]
5.3.70	prāg ivāt *kaḥ*
8.3.63	prāk sitād *aḍvyavāye 'pi*

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[43] According to Kielhorn, another reading is *prāk caikādaśabhyo..*, cf. Böhtlingk, p. 478.

(14b) *Vibhāṣā* is continued by *anuvṛtti* into the next rule, which allows similar compounds to be formed with *āṄ* 'up to (either including or not including)' and a following ablative. Again, Pāṇini never uses this option, but always the noncompounded prepositional phrase :

1.4.1 ā kaḍarād *ekā saṁjñā* (not **ākaḍāram...*)
3.2.134 ā kves *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu*
5.1.19 ārhād *agopucchasaṁkhyāparimāṇāt ṭhak*
5.1.120 ā *ca* tvāt
6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv* ā kṛtvasucaḥ
6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā* bhāt

Pāṇini's convention for disjunctive blocking of general rules by special rules operates also when both rules fall under a heading "optional". For example, as we have seen in connection with the preceding item, the rules in the *taddhita* section are optional by virtue of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā*. Still, a special *taddhita* rule always blocks a general *taddhita* rule in the subset of whose domain it is applicable. For example, the special rule 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*, which forms designations of descendants from the words *garga* etc., while optional with respect to the analytic paraphrase *(gārgya* or *gargasya apatyam)*, nevertheless *obligatorily* sets aside the general rule for forming designations of descendants, 4.1.95 *ata iÑ (tasyāpatyam)*, so that we cannot form yet a third expression **gārgi*. If, in the *taddhita* section, Pāṇini wants to make a special rule applicable alongside a general rule, he provides the special rule with its own *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, or *anyatarasyām* depending on which form is favoured. For example, the special rule 4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā* provides for *ḍhrak* (*eya*[44] with stem-initial *vṛddhi*[45] and final accent[46]), to denote a descendant of a wretched female, e. g. *kāṇera* 'descendant of a one-eyed woman' (from *kāṇā*). Were this rule not provided with *vā*, it would be optional only with regard to the analytic paraphrase *kāṇāyāḥ apatyam*, but would obligatorily block the general rules for descendants of feminines (4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*, 4.1.121 *dvyacaḥ*), which assigns the suffix *ḍhaK (= eya)*. However, there exists also a third form *kāṇeya* which must be derived by this general rule. In order to permit it to be derived, the special rule 4.1.131 is given a *vā* of its own, making the blocking optional, as it were. It has therefore in effect two *vā*'s : its own *vā* which makes *kāṇera* optional with and preferable to *kāṇeya*, and the *vā* from 4.1.92 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā*, which makes *kāṇera* optional with and preferable to *kāṇāyāḥ apatyam*.

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[44] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām* and 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali.*

[45] 7.2.118 *kiti ca.*

[46] 6.1.165 *kitaḥ.*

According to tradition, this *vibhāṣā* extends as an *adhikāra* throughout the compound section, excepting only those rules which come under the scope of *nityam* (2.2.17 *nityaṁ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*). This raises the question why *vā* is mentioned in 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*, a rule which says that *pāre* and *madhye* are preferably *(vā)* compounded with a genitive into *avyayībhāva* compounds, e. g. *pāregaṅgam* ' across the Gaṅgā '. Kātyāyana and Patañjali explain that *vā* was required in this rule in order to prevent it from blocking the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound formed by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*, e. g. *gaṅgāpāram*. Their explanation is not necessarily correct. Elsewhere, one rule does not come under two contradictory optional headings, such as *vā* and *vibhāṣā*, and *gaṅgāpāram* may not have existed in Pāṇini's time. In that case, the purpose of *vā* would be to switch the preference. If 2.1.18 did not have *vā*, *vibhāṣā* would allow a marginal use of the compound form *pāregaṅgam*. To indicate that *pāregaṅgam* is a preferred compound to the corresponding non-compounded expression *pāre gaṅgāyāḥ*, *vā* is mentioned.[47]

Now, it is clear that the subsequent compounding rules must also fall under a heading " optional " in order to allow the corresponding analytic paraphrases to exist alongside them. Which is the heading—*vibhāṣā* from 2.1.11, or *vā* from 2.1.18 ? *I propose, contrary to the tradition, that it is ' vā ' which is continued.*

This interpretation is first of all preferable because it vindicates the original text, in which 2.1.11 and 2.1.12 constitute a single rule. Patañjali's proposal to split the rule becomes unnecessary because *vibhāṣā*, on this interpretation, is not a big *adhikāra* valid through the compound section, but is simply continued by ordinary *anuvṛtti* until replaced at 2.1.18 by *vā*.

Now an interesting system can be seen in the compound section as a whole. Apart from the rules which are not in the scope of an expression for "optional" (2.1.6-10) and the rules specially marked as obligatory (2.2.17 ff.), compounding is an optional process, in that a corresponding, synonymous phrase made up of the same word as the compound is also admissible. But this optionality is differentiated by Pāṇini under two headings : *vibhāṣā* (2.1.11–17) and *vā* (2.1.18-2.2.9).

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[47] Similar considerations would motivate the *anyatarasyām* of 2.2.3 *dvitīya-tṛtīya caturthaturyāṇy anyatarasyām*.

(A) There is a group of stylistically marginal, generally unproductive compounds which belong to the *avyayībhāva* (indeclinable) class and are brought together under the scope of *vibhāṣā* (2.1.11–17). Pāṇini of course uses *obligatory avyayībhāvas,* e.g. *yathāsaṁkhyam* (1.3.10), by 2.1.6. *But no rule which is supplied with 'vibhāṣā' by 2.1.11–12 is ever applied by Pāṇini himself.*

(B) The majority of compounding rules, like the majority of word-formation rules in general, are applied preferentially and grouped together under the scope of *vā* (2.1.18–2–2.9). These processes enjoy a high degree of productivity and they are also widely employed in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. A few examples will suffice to make this point clear.

(15a) By 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam* an agent *(kartṛ)* and an instrument (*karaṇa*) are variously compounded with *kṛt* formations. Pāṇini applies this rule frequently himself, e.g. in 2.1.30 *tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena.*

(15b) Rule 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ* compounds a dative of purpose with that which serves the purpose *(tadartha)* or with the words *artha* 'purpose' etc. Pāṇini applies the rule e.g. in *jīvikārtha* 'the purpose of making a living' in 5.3.99 jīvikārthe *cāpaṇye.*

(15c) Rule 2.1.37 *pañcamī bhayena* compounds an ablative with *bhaya* 'fear'. The ablative denotes the object of fearing.[48] Pāṇini applies this rule whenever possible, namely in *hetubhaya* 'fear of the agent of a causative *(hetu)*' : 1.3.68 *bhīsmyor* hetubhaye, 6.1.56 *bibheter* hetubhaye, 7.3.40 *bhiyo* hetubhaye *ṣuk.*

(15d) Rule 2.1.49 *pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena* provides for the compounding of a word denoting something preceding *(pūrvakāla)* or one of the listed words *eka* etc. with their head (*samānādhikaraṇa*, a coreferential item). Pāṇini applies this rule himself regularly, in words such as *ekahal* ‘a single consonant’ (6.3.59 ekahalādau *pūrayitavye ’nyatarasyām*, 6.4.120 *ata* ekahal *madhye ’nādeśāder liṭi*), *ekādeśa* ‘a single substitute’ (8.2.5 ekādeśa *udāttenodāttaḥ*), *ekādhikaraṇa* ‘a single thing’ (2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram ekadeśin*aikādhikaraṇe).

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[48] 1.4.25 *bhītrārthānāṁ bhayahetuḥ.*

(15e) 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṁ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam* allows modifiers (adjectives, participles) to be compounded with their heads. Unlike the other rules in this section, this one is qualified by *bahulam* ‘variously, sporadically, irregularly’. This indicates that the rule is subject to further conditions not stated in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (cf. Ch. 5). Pāṇini does not regularly apply this rule, e.g. 1.1.7 halo ’nantarāḥ *saṁyogaḥ* ‘contiguous consonants’ (not **anantarahalaḥ*, 1.1.16 *saṁbuddhau śākalyas*etāv anārṣe ‘before a non-Vedic *iti*’ (not **anārṣetau*), 1.2.42 tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ *karmadhārayaḥ* ‘a co-referential *tatpuruṣa*’ (i. e. one whose members are co-referential), (not **samānādhikaraṇatatpuruṣaḥ*). But he applies it in some words such as 6.1.169 *antodāttāt* uttarapadād *anyatarasyām* anityasamāse, 6.2.138 *śiter* nityābahvaj *bahuvrīhāv abhasat*.

(15f) Rule 2.1.58 *pūrvāparaprathamacaramajaghanyasamānamadhyamadhyamavīrāś ca* compounds the listed words *pūrva* ‘first’ etc. with another nominally inflected item. The *anuvṛtti* of *vā* is resumed here after being interrupted by *bahulam* in 2.1.57. Pāṇini constantly uses the compounds made by it, in such words as *pūrvapada* (12x), *pūrvakāla* (2x), *parakṣetra* (5.2.92), *pararūpa* (6.1.94), *samānaśabda* (4.3.100), *samānapada* (8.4.1), *samānapāda* (8.3.9) etc.

Now we can also see our way out of a problem which the tradition could not solve: since all the words named in 2.1.58 are modifiers and thus covered already by the general rule 2.1.57, why was a separate provision made for them? The answer is that with them compounding is preferable (*vā*), not merely sporadic (*bahulam*) as with other modifiers.

(15g) 2.1.61 *sanmahatparamottamotkṛṣṭāḥ pūjyamānaiḥ* compounds the honorific adjectives *sat* ‘true’, *mahat* ‘great’ etc. with what they qualify. Pāṇini applies this compounding e.g. in *mahāvyāhṛti* ‘great mystical word’: 8.2.7 1*bhuvaś ca* mahāvyāhṛteḥ.

(15h) Rule 2.2.2 *ardhaṁ napuṁsakam* compounds *ardha* ' half ' (as a neuter) with a whole to denote its part. The rule is applied in *ardhahrasvam* ' half of a short vowel ' (i.e. half a mora) in 1.2.32 *tasyādita udāttam* ardhahrasvam.

(15i) Rule 2.2.6 *nañ* says that the negation *naÑ* can be compounded with a nominally inflected item. Pāṇini applies this rule as far as possible, e.g. 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* (not **na pratyayaḥ*), 1.4.51 akathitaṁ *ca* (not *na *kathitaṁ*), 2.3.19 *sahayukte 'pradhāne* (not **na pradhāne*), 7.2.86 *yuṣmadasmador* anādeśe (not **nādeśe*). Compounding is not possible, of course, in many cases, e.g. when *na* is to be construed as the main predicate of the rule, e.g. 2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe*, or when it is sentence negation rather than constituent negation, e.g. 8.1.51 *gatyarthaloṭā lṛṇ* na cet kārakaṁ sarvānyat.

(15j) Rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* compounds genitives, subject to various restrictions expressed in 2.2.10–16, qualified in turn by 2.2.9, 2.2.17. This gives rise to the large class of genitive *tatpuruṣas* which are frequent also in Pāṇini's text : 2.3.46 prātipadikārtha*liṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*, 2.4.21 *upajñopakramaṁ* tadādyācikhyāsāyām (two cases, one embedded in the other), 5.3.114 āyudhajīvisaṅghāñ *ñyaḍ vāhīkeṣv abrāhmaṇarājanyāt*.

The compounding rules are systematically *not* applied in the meaning headings of the *taddhita* section, e.g. 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam* (not **taddhitam* by 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ*), 4.3.101 *tena proktam* (not **tatproktam* by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*), 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* (not **tadbhāvaḥ* by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*). This has several advantages for the grammar :

(i) The pronouns *tasmai*, *tena* etc. are unambiguously identified as the first word referred to by 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā* (cf. item 13 above).

(ii) The pronouns can be continued by *anuvṛtti*. For example, 4.4.15 *haratyutsaṅgādibhyaḥ* gets *tena* from 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam*.

(iii) The formulation of more complex meaning conditions such as 4.4.2. is facilitated.

(iv) Most importantly, the pronouns indicate the case of the word to which the *taddhita* suffix is to be appended.

Böhtlingk's edition assumes compounding in a few of these cases, viz. compounding of *tatra* with a past passive participle by rule 2.1.46 *tatra* [45 *ktena*], in the three rules 4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*, 4.4.69 *tatra niyuktaḥ*, and 5.1.43 *tatra viditaḥ*. Also, 5.1.117 *tad arham* might be considered a compound. However, in all these cases the text is ambiguous and allows an equally good reading where each rule consists of two separate words: *tatra jātaḥ* etc. We may as well adopt that reading as given in the traditional editions, and thereby credit Pāṇini with a completely consistent procedure in formulating his meaning conditions for *taddhita* rules, namely that the pronoun *tat* denoting the stem to which the suffix is to be added is *never* compounded with any other item in the rule.

Aside from these *taddhita* rules, we can say that *every rule which according to the interpretation proposed here is supplied with 'vā' by 2.1.18 is applied by Pāṇini himself wherever possible.*

The remaining compounding rules, beginning with 2.2.17 *nityaṁ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*, are obligatory, aside from 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām* which temporarily interrupts the sequence of obligatory processes with an optional one. This section contains certain types of *tatpuruṣa* compounds which lack analytic paraphrases, such as *kupuruṣa*, formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, and all *bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva* compounds. In accordance with a suggestion by S. D. Joshi, the obligatory nature of the latter two types may be understood as follows. The special property of *bahuvrīhis* and *dvandvas* is that they are introduced under semantic conditions (2.2.14 *anekam anyapadārthe* and 2.2.29 *cārthe*, respectively). These are overtly expressed in the respective analytic paraphrases, by the relative pronoun and the word *ca*. Thus, if these words are present, no compound can be derived, and if these words are not present, then compounding is obligatory in order to express the meaning. For example, *plakṣaḥ* + *nyagrodhaḥ* must obligatorily become a compound if the sense of "and" is to be expressed. This is different from *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds, which stand alongside analytic expressions formed of the same elements, e.g. *prāg grāmāt* and *prāggrāmam*, *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

(**16**) There is one more extended *vā* which must be briefly looked at before we proceed. Rule 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samāna-*

kartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā assigns the desiderative suffix *saN*[49] to a root which is the object (*karman*) of wishing and has the same subject (*kartṛ*) as the wishing, e.g. *cikīrṣati.* Since the rule is optional, we can also say *kartum icchati*. Since the option is given as *vā*, *cikīrṣati* is the preferred expression. Correspondingly, Pāṇini himself always uses the desiderative forms when possible, e.g. 2.4.21 *upajñopakramaṁ tadādy*-ācikhyāsāyām (not **ākhyātum icchāyām*), 3.3.7 lipsyamāna-*siddhau ca*, 3.3.46 *pre* lipsāyām, 3.4.52 *apādāne* parīpsāyām, 8.2.49 *divo* 'vijigīṣāyām.

This *vā* continues by *anuvṛtti* through rule 3.1.22, after which it is replaced by *nityam* (3.1.23). But I can find no relevant instances in Pāṇini's text to check whether these rules are applied by him. As far as the *vā* of 3.1.7 is concerned, my case rests only on the desiderative forms themselves.

We have so far been able to restrict our discussion to instances of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* which occur in a positive context. We now turn to cases where they instead qualify *prohibitions*. In such cases, their polarity is naturally reversed by the negation. That is, *na*...*vā* is equivalent to *vibhāṣā*, and *na*... *vibhāṣā*, i.e. *na*...*na vā*, is equivalent to plain *vā*.[50]

When do *vā* and *vibhāṣā* come to be negated in this way? One situation where it must happen is the *anuvṛtti* of negative compounds. For example, 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade* " non-deletion in the second member of a compound " is an *adhikāra* specifying a prohibition to which the following rules give the conditions. In e.g 6.3.24 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ* " preferably not before *svasṛ* ' sister ' and *pati* ' husband '," we bring in *aluk* ' non-deletion ' from 6.3.1 to give *aluk vibhāṣā* ' preferably no non-deletion ', resolvable into *na luk na vā*, i.e. more simply *luk vā* ' preferably deletion '. That is to say, deletion is the *preferred* alternative before *svasṛ* and *pati* according to this rule.

Suppose now that *vā* or *vibhāṣā* occurs in a sequence of rules where uncompounded *na* is present by *anuvṛtti*. The question then arises whether *na* is supposed to be read by *anuvṛtti* into the optional rule as well. On the traditional interpretation of Pāṇini it makes no difference at all, for saying that a rule optionally does not apply amounts to the same thing as saying that it optionally applies. But on my interpretation there is obviously a big difference between saying that a rule preferably does not apply and saying that it preferably applies. How must such cases be understood?

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[49] Initial accent by 6.1.197 *ñnity ādir nityam.*

[50] 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā.*

The continuation of *na* in optional rules is governed by the same principles as in obligatory rules. These principles are the same as those which govern the continuation of *vā*, *chandasi* and similar qualifiers.

The basic rule is this: *na*, *vā*, and other qualifiers are continued if and only if there is some explicit or implicit indication to that effect. There are four ways in which such an indication can be provided in the system.

(1) The item to be continued can be marked by means of a *svarita* accent as an *adhikāra*.[51] For example, *na* is continued from 7.3.59 *na kvādeḥ* up to 7.3.69 *bhojyaṁ bhakṣye*, after which it is discontinued by the introduction of a new process. In the same way, such a *na* is continued into an optional rule when it is included in its scope. Such examples are:

5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā (na* from 69 *na pūjanāt)*
6.1.44 *vibhāṣā pareḥ (na* from 37 *na saṁprasāraṇe saṁprasāraṇam)*
6.1.122 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* (*na* from 115 *nāntaḥpādam avyapare*)
7.2.17 *vibhāṣā bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ* (*na* from 8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*)
7.2.28 *ruṣyamatvarasaṁghuṣāsvanām* (*na* from 8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*)
8.1.41 *śeṣe vibhāṣā* (*na* from 29 *na luṭ*)

For more discussion of these optional rules, see Chapter 4 below. It is interesting that the *Kāśikā vṛtti* paraphrases those rules with *na*, e.g. on 5.4.72 *vibhāṣā na bhavati*, on 6.1.44 *vibhāṣā saṁprasāraṇaṁ na bhavati*, while the *Siddhāntakaumudī* simply indicates optionality using *vā*. One does not have to suppose that the *Kāśikā* is here preserving the correct *vṛtti* by tradition. Because of its very arrangement this commentary is apt to pay careful attention to the functioning of *anuvṛtti* in the system, and it may be simply following the general principles for *anu*-

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[51] 1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*.

vṛtti even here where it makes no difference from the viewpoint of the later tradition's understanding of the words for optionality.

(2) The continuation of an item can be indicated by *ca* 'and' in a subsequent rule. If there are rules intervening between the item to be continued and the rule with *ca*, the item must be read into each of these. For example, *vibhāṣā* is continued from 5.1.29 *vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām* through 5.1.30 *dvitripūrvān niṣkāt* into 5 1.31 *vistāc ca* by the *ca* in this last rule. Similarly 3.1.57–58, 5.3.93–94, 5.4.109–12, 7.2.27–30, 8.3.72–74, 8.4.45–7. This type is frequent. *Na* is continued in this way in 1.3.15–16, 2.2.10–16, 3.1.64–66, 3.2.152–156, 6.3.19–20, 6.3.37–41, 7.3.22–23, 7.3.34–35, 7.3.45–48. It is continued into optional rules in 1.4.4–6 and 6.1.182–4. Again the *Kāśikā* puts *na* into the *vṛtti* (1.4.5: *vā nadīsaṁjñau na bhavataḥ*, 6.1.183: *anyatarasyāṁ nodātto bhavati*).

(3) When the continuation of an item is implicitly indicated by the content of a rule, no explicit mark is required. In particular, an item is continued into a rule if the rule would otherwise be redundant (*sāmarthya*). For example *vā* is continued from 2.2.37 *vā''hitāgnyādiṣu* into 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* because the latter would be pointless if obligatory, the case being already covered by 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṁ pūrvam*. Similarly, 3.3.54 *vṛṇoter ācchādane* and 3.3.55 *parau bhuvo 'vajñāne* have *vibhāṣā* from 3.3.50 *vibhāṣā'' ṅi rupluvoḥ*, because their output could be derived even without them by 3.3.19 *akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām* and 3.3.18 *bhāve*, respectively. We know, therefore, that the special rules are optional and that their purpose is to restrict the general rules in particular contexts. *Na* is continued in this way e.g. in 1.3.59 *pratyāṅbhyāṁ śruvaḥ* (from 1.3.58 *nānor jñaḥ*). Rule 59 would otherwise be redundant, because it applies to a subset of the input of 1.3.57 *jñāśrusmṛdṛśāṁ sanaḥ*. Similar examples are 2.3.69–70, 4.1.10–12, 4.1.22–24, 7.3.87–88, 7.4.63–64. *Na* is continued into optional rules under exactly the same circumstances under which it would

be continued into them if they were obligatory. For example, *na* extends from 7.2.4 *neṭi* into 7.2.6 *ūrṇoter vībhāṣā* and 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ*. Similarly 7.1.79, 7.3.9. The *Kāśikā* again reads *na* in its *vṛtti* on 7.2.6, 7.2.7 (*vibhāṣā vṛddhir na bhavati*), 7.3.9, though not in 7.1.79.

(4) The continuation of a word denoting optionality can be indicated by the mention of *nityam* ' always ' in a later rule. All rules up to the *nityam* are then understood to be optional. For example, the *vibhāṣā* of 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ* extends up to 6.1.56 *bibheter hetubhaye*, after which it is concelled by 6.1.57 *nityaṁ smayateḥ*. Every occurrence of *nityam* as a modal operator in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has the purpose of delimiting optionality in this way (e.g. 6.1.196–197, 6.1.208–210. 7.4.6–8, 8.1.63-66, 8.3.26–32, 8.3.42–45). There is no corresponding device for the discontinuation of *na*.

In all other cases, *na* and the words for optionality are not continued beyond the rule in which they occur : e.g. 1.1.58–59, 1.2.37–38, 2.4.61–62, 6.2.181–182, 1.3.43–44, 4.2.48–49, 8.4.23–24. In particular, *na* is not continued into optional rules in 1.1.29–30, 1.3.89–90, 3.3.113-4, 3.4.23–24, 6.2.19-20, 6.4.30–33. In these cases, the *Kāśikā* also does not include *na* in its paraphrases.

We will see in the following chapters that if these principles are adhered to strictly, the resulting interpretations of the rules agree quite closely with the facts of usage. In a few rules this can be seen even from Pāṇini's own usage. We will take first the set of rules which assign the technical term *nadī* to certain noun stems.

1.4.3 *yū stryākhyau nadī* " feminines in *-ī*, *-ū* are called *nadī* ".

1.4.4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī* (3 *nadī*) " those subject to *iyAṄ*, *uvAṄ* replacement,[52] except for *strī*, are not called *nadī*. "

1.4.5 *vā''mi* (4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī*) (3 *nadī*) " before *-ām*, words subject to *iyAṄ*, *uvAṄ* replacement, except for *strī*, are preferably (*vā*) not called *nadī*. "

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[52] By 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvāṁ yvor iyaṅuvaṅau* and following rules.

> 1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca* (5 *vā*) (4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī* (3 *nadī*) "before suffixes with diacritic *Ṅ*, nouns subject to *iyAṄ*, *uvAṄ* replacement except for *strī*, are preferably *(vā)* not called *nadī*, and the same holds for nouns in short *-i, -u*".

(17 a) The marking or non-marking of a stem as *nadī* has diverse morphological consequences. Take first the option before gen. pl. *ām* (1.4.5 *vā"mi*). Here the suffix receives a preposed augment *nUṬ* after *nadī* stems, e.g. *kumārīṇām* 'virgins'. In the stems for which there is an option, our interpretation predicts that Pāṇini will rather use the non-*nadī* form. He does; cf. *bhruvām* (not **bhrūṇām*) in rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu*-bhruvāṁ *yvor iyaṅuvaṅau.*

(17b) Before suffixes with diacritic *Ṅ* (1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca*) the option extends to stems ending in short as well as long *-i, -u*. The suffixes with diacritic *Ṅ* are : dat. sg. *Ṅe*, abl. sg. *ṄasI*, gen. sg. *Ṅas*, and loc. sg. *Ṅi*. No examples of the dative in this declension are attested in Pāṇini's text. The ablative and genitive are identical in this declension, so that we can take them together. After *nadī* stems, their suffix *as* gets a preposed augment *āṬ* by 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*, e.g. *bhrū* → *bhrū* + *āas* → *bhruvāḥ*, and, after short-vowel stems, *gati* + *as* → *gati* + *āas* → *gatyāḥ*. On taking the preferred non-*nadī* option, we get *bhrū* + *as* → *bhruvaḥ*, and *gati* + *as* → *gate* + *as*[53] → *gate* + *s*[54] →*gateḥ*. And so it is the types *bhruvaḥ, gateḥ* which ought to turn up in the text, not the *nadī* forms *bhruvāḥ, gatyāḥ*. This is confirmed for the long-vowel stems by 4.1.125 *bhruvo vuk ca* (the only relevant case) and for the short-vowel stems by several examples :

4.1.63	jāter *astrīviṣayād ayopadhāt*
4.1.65	*ito manuṣya*jāteḥ
5.4.37	oṣadher *ajātau*
5.4.86	*tatpuruṣasya*āṅguleḥ *saṁkhyāvyayādeḥ*
5.4.87	*ahaḥsarvaikadeśasaṁkhyātapuṇyāc ca* rātreḥ
6.1.69	*eṅ hrasvāt* saṁbuddheḥ
6.3.41	jāteś *ca*
6.3.132	oṣadheś *ca vibhaktāv aprathamāyām*
8.1.57	*canacidivagotrāditaddhitāmreḍiteṣv* agateḥ

There are no contrary examples.

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[53] 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti.*

[54] 6.1.110 *ṅasiṅasoś ca.*

The locative suffix *i* becomes *ām* after *nadī* stems by 7.3.116 *ṅer ām nadyāmnībhyaḥ* and (for the short vowel *nadī* stems) by 7.3.117 *idudbhyām*, e.g. *gati* + *i* → *gati* + *ām* → *gatyām*. Again, we predict that Pāṇini will rather use the non-*nadī* type *gatau*, derived by 7.3.118 *aut*, 7.3.119 *ac ca gheḥ*,[55] e.g. *gati* + *i* → *gata* + *au* → *gatau*. Numerous examples show this to be correct.

1.1.16	saṁbuddhau *śākalyasyaitāv anārṣe*
1.2.33	*ekaśruti dūrāt* saṁbuddhau
1.2.64	*sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa* ekavibhaktau
1.3.4	*na* vibhaktau *tusmāḥ*
3.1.23	*nityaṁ kauṭilye* gatau
3.2.22	*karmaṇi* bhṛtau
3.2.78	*supy* ajātau *ṇinis tācchīlye*
3.2.98	*pañcamyām* ajātau
3.4.50	samāsattau
4.1.161	*manor* jātāv *añyatau ṣuk ca*
4.4.135	*sahasreṇa* saṁmitau *ghaḥ*
5.2.133	*hastāj* jātau
5.4.4	anatyantagatau *ktāt*
5.4.37	*oṣadher* ajātau
5.4.58	*kṛño dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt* kṛṣau
6.1.143	*kustumburūṇi* jātau
6.2.10	*adhvaryukaṣāyayor* jātau
6.2.16	prītau *ca*
6.2.105	uttarapadavṛddhau *sarvaṁ ca*
6.3.103	*tṛṇe ca* jātau
6.3.132	*oṣadheś ca* vibhaktāv *aprathamāyām*
6.4.8	*sarvanāmasthāne* cāsaṁbuddhau
6.4.171	*brāhmo* 'jātau
7.1.73	*iko 'ci* vibhaktau
7.1.92	*sakhyur* asaṁbuddhau
7.1.99	*am* saṁbuddhau
7.2.84	*aṣṭana ā* vibhaktau
7.3.42	*śader* agatau *taḥ*
7.3.63	*vañcer* gatau
7.3.106	saṁbuddhau *ca*

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[55] Originally a single *sūtra*, according to Kielhorn.

8.1.70 *gatir* gatau
8.3.113 *sedhater* gatau

Again, there are no contrary examples.

In this entire complex domain of feminine *-ī* and *-u* stems, we have seen Pāṇini opting for the non-*nadī* variants with absolute consistency, in exact agreement with the interpretation which our theory imposes on his rules.

(**18**) 7.2.27 *vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ* [8 *na, iṭ*].

This is part of a long sequence of rules[56] which prohibits the augment *iṬ*[57] under various conditions. In accord with the usual conventions for *anuvṛtti*, the *na* from 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti* is continued as long as the process *iṬ* (from the same rule) is continued, unless cancelled by another item.[58] Therefore, the rule says : better not use *iṬ* in the cited participles – that is, better *dānta* than *damita*, better *śānta* than *śamita*, better *pūrṇa* than *pūrita*, better *jñapta* than *jñapita* etc. This recommendation is in accord with Pāṇini's own usage in that he uses the preferred forms in the very rule itself. It is precisely because he preferred the forms *dānta*, *śānta*, *pūrṇa* etc. that he phrased the rule as he did, and not in the form **vā damitaśamitapūritadāsitaspāśitachāditajñapitāḥ*.

(**19**) Exactly the same situation arises a few rules later in 7.2.30 *apacitaś ca* [27 *vā*] [8 *na iṭ*]. The rule presents an option between preferred *apacita* and marginal *apacāyita*, and identifies the word in its preferred form.

(**20**) A similar example is 7.3.90 *ūrṇoter vibhāṣā* [89 *uto vṛddhir luki hali*] [87 *piti sārvadhātuke*]. It allows marginal (*vibhāṣā*) *vṛddhi* beside *guṇa* in the present[59] singular of *ūrṇu* ' cover ', i.e., *ūrṇauti* besides preferred *ūrṇoti*. In the rule itself, Pāṇini cites the verb in the preferred form (not **ūrṇauter vibhāṣā*).

The last three examples (18–20) have a different character from the preceding ones in one crucial respect. Previously we argued from the form in which Pāṇini _uses_ words. But here we have argued from the form in which he _mentions_ words. Is it safe to do so?

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[56] Discussed at greater length in Chapter 4. For the functioning of *anuvṛtti* in these rules see Note at 7.2.68 there.

[57] Introduced by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*.

[58] It is cancelled by the repeated *iṬ* of 7.2.35 (fn. 57).

[59] *Guṇa* is obligatory in the imperfect by 7.3.91 *guṇo 'pṛkte*.

For our purpose, we require cases where Pāṇini reveals his linguistic preferences by his choice between alternative word forms. There is no problem when, as in cases (18–20), the word is mentioned in the very rule which introduces the option in question. Here the choice of the form can have been dictated only by Pāṇini's linguistic preferences, for it makes no difference whatever for the interpretation of the rule. The rules would say exactly the same thing if they had been formulated instead as *_vā damitaśamita_...., *_apacāyitaś ca_, and *_ūrṇauter vibhāṣā_, so that the variants actually used can safely be inferred to be Pāṇini's favorites.

We are also on relatively firm ground whenever the option is phonological or morphophonemic. For example, the verb _ūrṇu_ is again mentioned as _ūrṇoti_ in 7.2.6 _ūrṇoter vibhāṣā_. Since this rule concerns the treatment of the _aorist_,[60] the choice of _ūrṇoti_ as against _ūrṇauti_ makes no difference in the meaning of the rule, and must therefore be considered as legitimate evidence that Pāṇini thought of _ūrṇoti_ as the normal form.

Cases (21, 22) are two further instances of this type.

(21) Recall that 6.3.24 _vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ_ (p. 45) allows the genitive ending of the first member in a compound to be marginally (_vibhāṣā_) retained (6.3.1 _aluk_) before _svasṛ_ 'sister' and _pati_ 'husband', if the first member is a stem ending in _ṛ_ and denotes a student colleague or blood relative, e.g., _mātuḥṣvasṛ_ 'mother's sister' or preferably (with deleted ending) _mātṛṣvasṛ_.[61] Now Pāṇini happens to mention the preferred form _mātṛṣvasṛ_ himself in another rule, 4.1.134 _mātṛṣvasuś ca_, which provides for derivatives _mātṛṣvasrīya_ and _mātṛṣvaseya_. Can this mention be adduced as independent evidence that Pāṇini indeed preferred _mātṛṣvasṛ_ to _mātuḥṣvasṛ_? Presumably it can, unless we assume, what is rather unlikely, that the word was mentioned in the rule in that form in order to say that the other form, _mātuḥṣvasṛ_, is _not_ subject to 4.1.134, i.e., in order to exclude _matuḥṣvasrīya, matuḥṣvaseya_.

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[60] It provides for optional _vṛddhi_, e.g., _praurṇāvīt_ or _praurṇavīt_.

[61] With _ṣ_ by 8.3.84 _mātṛpitṛbhyāṁ svasā_, and in the first variant optionally by 8.3.85 _mātuḥpiturbhyām anyatarasyām_.

(**22**) According to 6.1.122 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* [115 *na* or *prakṛtyā*[62]] [109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*] [107 *pūrvaḥ*], *go* 'cow' can in both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit (*sarvatra*), marginally fail to undergo *sandhi* with a following short *a*, e.g., *goaśva* 'cattle and horses'. The favoured option is either to delete *a* by 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* (*go'śva*) or to replace *go* with *gava* by 6.1.123 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* (*gavāśva*). In practice, the latter is the commonest alternative by far. Pāṇini himself cites the word *gavāśvam* in that form in 2.4.11 gavāśva*prabhṛtīni ca*, in a rule specifying its singular number (and consequent neuter gender[63]), which is presumably equally applicable to *both* the *sandhi* variants of the word. Pāṇini's own usage thus reflects the same preference as his explicit rule.

There is, to be sure, a general unresolved question here. When Pāṇini mentions a word, which of its variants are supposed to be included ? That is, what are the criteria for word identity in the grammar ? This requires study in the context of Pāṇini's whole system of referring to words and morphemes. Only then can the evidence from cases like (21) and (22) be given its full weight.

As we have seen, the agreement between the preferences which Pāṇini expresses in his rules and the preferences which he follows in his own usage is in general extremely close. Too close to be true ? We might begin to suspect that they were harmonized by Pāṇini deliberately, perhaps artificially. If that were so, the reasoning in this chapter would have to be modified in some respects — though the central conclusion about the meaning difference between *vā* and *vibhāṣā* would of course still stand. But then the existence of some *bahuvrīhis* with optional *-ka* (item 8) would be difficult to explain. Also, there are two other optional rules where the correspondence is imperfect. They will provide us with decisive proof that Pāṇini's explicit rules and his usage are, on the contrary, two mutually independent reflections of his linguistic intuitions as a speaker of Sanskrit.

(**23**) 6.4.136 *vibhāṣā niśyoḥ* [134 *allopo 'naḥ*]. The *a* of stem-final *an* is marginally (*vibhāṣā*) deleted before the loc. sg. *Ṅi* and the neuter nom. and acc. pl. *Śi*, e.g., *rājñi* or (better) *rājani*. Pāṇini himself uses the recommended form in 4.4.130 *ojaso 'hani yatkhau*. However, he uses the other option in *bhūmni* and *nāmni* :

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[62] See Ch. 4 on 6.1.122, for these two readings.

[63] 2.4.17 *sa napuṁsakam*.

3.3.34, 8.3.94	*chando*nāmni *ca*
3.4.58	nāmny *ādiśigrahoḥ*
4.2.67	*tad asminn astīti deśe tan*nāmni
6.2.175	*bahor nañvad uttarapada*bhūmni

A survey of Sanskrit usage on this point shows that the variation is somewhat systematic. The locative singulars of *an* stems from the *Vedāṅga* volumes of Vishva Bandhu's *VWC*, which cover the *sūtra* literature, approximately contemporaneous with Pāṇini, have two subtypes with a clear difference in treatment. Stems with the suffix *-man*, *-van* favour deletion of *a*, other *an-* stems favour retention of *a*, as is clear from the following statistics.

Stems in *-man*, *-van* :

nāmni	2	*nāmani*	—
lomni	2	*lomani*	—
yāmni	—	*yāmani*	3
sāmni	3[64]	*sāmani*	—
vyomni	4	*vyomani*	2
grāvṇi	3	*grāvaṇi*	1
Total :	14	Total :	6

Other *an-* stems :

ahni	2	*ahani*	8
rājñi	3	*rājani*	4
ūdhni	—	*ūdhani*	2
udni	—	*udani*	1
āsni	—	*āsani*	4
Total :	5	Total :	19

This accounts for Pāṇini's usage also : all words where he deletes *a* are *-man* stems, and the one word where he retains *a* is *ahani*.

The situation, then, is this : The actual pattern of preferences is more intricate than Pāṇini's rule says. Pāṇini bases his rule on the main type, where retention is favoured, and disregards the fact that in the subtype of *-man*, *-van* stems the opposite preference actually holds. He "rounds off" the complex reality to get a simpler, though still approximately correct statement. But in his own usage, he follows the real tendency of the language in all its detail, rather than his own simplified formulation of it.

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[64] The index shows the listing for *sāmni* to be incomplete. The additional examples of this form change the figures further in favour in my argument.

These cases of "rounding off" are instructive in that they show the limits beyond which Pāṇini did not go in dealing with phenomena of linguistic variation. Why did Pāṇini not state how *-man*, *-van* stems differ from other *-an* stems with regard to deletion? We do not have to suppose that he never noticed these details. Rather, he omitted them on principle. These regularities are unlike any we have so far encountered in that they involve different preferences depending on the environment. In order to reflect such a situation in his grammatical system, Pāṇini would therefore have had to split the rules into two parts, one with *vā*, the other with *vibhāṣā*. For example, in order to deal with the *an*-stems it would have been necessary to add, after 6.4.136 *vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ*, the new rule "*vā vamapūrvasya*", or something to that effect. But that is something he prefers to avoid. Pāṇini does not generally let the facts of linguistic variation induce him to complicate his grammar. To be sure, we have seen one case where a rule (2.1.58, see 15f above) was added for no apparent other purpose than to mark out a subset of *vā* compounds from an amorphous general *bahulam* type. And in Ch. 1 we discussed one rule, 7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num*, where an item is repeated just to switch the preference from *na vā* to *vā*. But these are rare cases. For the most part, it is simply a matter of choosing correctly between *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, and *anyatarasyām*.

(**24**) 3.1.70 *vā bhrāśabhlāśabhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣaḥ*
[69 *śyan*] [68 *kartari*] [67 *sārvadhātuke*]

The roots *bhrāś* etc. preferably get the suffix *ŚyaN* (the fourth class present suffix) before a *sārvadhātuka* suffix expressing the agent. Among these roots is included *kram* 'go'. Nevertheless, Pāṇini himself uses this verb with the other option, the suffix *ŚaP* (by the general rule 60 *kartari śap*) in 4.3.68 *abhiniṣkrāmati dvāram*. On the face of it, this is simply a counter-example. It is at least conceivable, however, that this again is a type of rounding off, with the *vā* indicating that a majority of the verb roots mentioned in the rule — *bhrāś* happening not to be among them — prefer *ŚyaN* in Pāṇini's speech. The facts of Classical Sanskrit usage, though, make this a rather dubious proposition (see Ch. 4 below). The rule must thus be considered a problem for our interpretation of the meaning of *vā*.

Let us summarize the results of this chapter. In order to test our hypothesis about the types of optionality distinguished by Pāṇini, we looked for optional rules which happen to be applicable in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. We reasoned that if our hypothesis is correct, then *vā* options should be used and *vibhāṣā* options avoided in Pāṇini's own usage. Our search yielded forty-six relevant rules of varying scope, some applicable only once in the text, others applicable many hundreds of times. Twenty-five of them fall into major blocks of optional rules in the derivational morphology (discussed in items 12–16 above); to them it would have been trivially possible to add further examples from compounding and *taddhita* rules. Out of the total of forty-six rules, forty-three were applied in the text only with the favoured option as predicted, without any exceptions. In two of the cases (8 and 23), some non-favoured forms occurred along with favoured forms. These could be traced, however, to a general property of the grammar : that patterns involving different preferences in different sub-environments are " rounded off " in Pāṇini's rules, but still observed in his usage. The remaining case, involving a single example only, shows the less favoured form in use.

Such figures could hardly be the product of accident. We must conclude that this first of our three stages of investigation into Sanskrit usage has firmly supported our hypothesis about the meaning difference between *vā* and *vibhāṣā*.

CHAPTER III

PĀṆINI AND VEDIC

Pāṇini probably did not think of the Vedas as representing an older stage of Sanskrit, but he was well aware of their special features. These are dealt with specially in over two hundred rules scattered through the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Pāṇini has even observed individual linguistic characteristics of various genres of Vedic literature. According to Thieme (1935, 67ff.) *chandas* refers to " sacred literature " in general, or more particularly to the *Saṁhitās* of the *RV.*, *AV.*, *SV.* and *YV.*,[1] *yajus* means " sacrificial formula in prose ", *ṛc* means " Vedic stanza ", *brāhmaṇa* means " a *Brāhmaṇa*", in particular, one that constitutes an independent work, not part of a *Saṁhitā* (such as the Black YV. *Saṁhitā*). *Nigama* appears to be synonymous with *chandas*. *Mantra* is a cover term for *ṛc* and *yajus* taken together. There is also *sāman* 'hymn', *Sūtra*, and finally *bhāṣā*, which marks ordinary speech as distinguished from all the above special genres (it is not clear whether *Sūtra* is a subdivision of *bhāṣā* or distinct from it). In this chapter we will compare the use of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* in the Vedic rules with the corresponding Vedic facts in order to further test our hypothesis.

Vedic *(chandas)* and Classical Sanskrit *(bhāṣā)* are presented together in terms of a single system of rules. Unless expressly restricted to one or the other domain, any rule is theoretically supposed to be equally valid for both. But this is not to say that they were given equal weight in the process of constructing the grammar. On the contrary, virtually every decision on how to organize the system was dictated by the structure of the Classical language. Almost always, the Vedic peculiarities are derived in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by patch-up rules added to the rules already established and motivated on the basis of Classical Sanskrit. If all the specifically Vedic rules were erased from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, one could scarcely tell from the structure of what remains that it had ever contained them.[2]

This method of deriving Vedic as an extension of Classical Sanskrit works well only where the two dialects of the language really have identical underlying representations and similar rules. In such cases Pāṇini can reasonably well capture the dialectal differences by modifying the conditions under which a rule applies or changing the modality of a rule. But even there it is characteristic of the looseness of the Vedic analyses that the Vedic rules are mostly generalizations rather than restrictions of Classical rules : they typically involve listing additional environments where a rule applies in Vedic, and they are more often rules making some process optional in Vedic (e.g. *vibhāṣā chandasi*) than rules making an optional process obligatory or inapplicable in Vedic (e.g. *nityaṁ chandasi*, *na chandasi*).

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[1] Renou (W. 1, 118, fn. 562) claims, citing Winternitz, that the citations contained in the ritual *sūtras* are also considered as *chandas*.

[2] Renou (W. 1, 117, fn. 549) cites a nice observation of Benfey which bears on this point : the underlying representation of roots with full grade *ar* is given as *ṛ* when a form with *ṛ* actually occurs in use; in the case of the roots *arc*, *ard*, *arh*, *spardh* the forms in *ṛ* were all Vedic and so were overlooked or ignored.

But such aspects of the Vedic language as have undergone more radical restructuring in the Classical language cannot be treated that way at all. The ten tense-mood categories *(lakāras)* are an appropriate device for presenting the Classical verb system, but they are incapable of representing the cross-classification of tense and mood in Vedic. The fundamentally distinct two types of *ī*-stems, the *vṛkī* and *devī* type, had merged in Pāṇini's time, and so his treatment of their inflection in Vedic overlooks it there too (see below on 6.1.106, item 9).

Fortunately, our investigations of the optional rules will hardly be set back by the structural weaknesses of Pāṇini's analysis of the Vedic language. As long as we keep in mind his point of view, we will have no difficulty in seeing what he meant and in checking his use of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* against the practice of the texts. As far as the facts are concerned, Pāṇini's observations on Vedic are accurate and detailed, even though naturally many points are simply not covered in them. Schröder, from his first-hand experience in editing the *Kāṭhaka* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās*, had developed a great respect for the Vedic information given in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* :

> " In general, I willingly concede that there is much in the system of the Indian linguists with which one might disagree. But there is one point in which they have increasingly become authorities to me, for which I have the greatest trust, nay admiration : namely their direct and definite statements about the occurrence of certain roots or word forms. I have found these clearly confirmed in so numerous previously uncheckable cases that I consider it to be completely illegitimate to reject other forms which have not yet been documented in literature, and are perhaps no longer documentable. Rather, I believe that the information of the Indian scholars is well-founded also in these instances, and at any rate is not arbitrarily invented. " (1895, p. 162.)

The Vedic optional rules should thus be an excellent testing ground for our hypothesis. Moreover, the task of comparing Pāṇini's Vedic rules with the Vedic data is made comparatively easy by the fact that his Vedic corpus can for most purposes be considered the same as the one we now have before us. It is true that Pāṇini drew on some Vedic *śākhās* which are now lost, judging from the untraced Vedic lexical material he cites. Conversely, there appear to be some which we know of but Pāṇini never takes into account. Goldstücker (1861) and Thieme (1935) have argued that the whole White *Yajurveda* was unknown to Pāṇini, because he mentions none of its special idiosyncrasies. Even in the shared Vedic domain there are different readings in some cases; the text may have become corrupt since Pāṇini's time, or Vedic philology has cleared out some corruptions which were already there in Pāṇini's text. But all this is really only important for lexical details of the kind treated in *nipātana* rules, and hardly affects any of the more general optional rules we are concerned with here. As far as such rules are concerned, Pāṇini's texts and ours constitute equally representative samples of Vedic usage.

There is one major exception to this statement : a number of Vedic prose texts have lost the accents with which they were at one time handed down.[3] Our new interpretation of the optional rules now provides virtually conclusive evidence that many such texts still had their accents in Pāṇini's time (see the discussion of rules 6.1.209–210, item 10). This is a more serious limitation on our project because it means that our data on accentuation is heavily skewed towards the most archaic stages of Vedic.

We should moreover beware of the traditional but utterly mistaken belief that all of Pāṇini's accent rules refer to Vedic accent.[4] On the contrary, except for those especially marked as being limited to Vedic,[5] the accent rules are intended to apply to both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, like the rest of the rules in the Grammar. Like them, too, they are in practice based much more on the Classical language of Pāṇini's own day. Therefore, we can utilize only the special Vedic accent rules for this part of our investigation, and even them only by allowing for the fact that the presently accented Vedas are only a limited and non-representative subset of the texts to which Pāṇini's Vedic accent rules are intended to apply.

After Pāṇini, very little active interest was shown in the Vedic rules. They were relegated to appendices in works like the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, and dropped entirely in most later grammars. From our point of view this is partly an advantage, in that it minimizes the problem of interpolations and other deliberate textual changes after Pāṇini. For later grammarians were scarcely worried enough about the real or apparent gaps in the factual coverage of Pāṇini's Vedic rules to bother to " improve " them. On the other hand, the neglect into which the Vedic rules fell also unfortunately means that the *Vṛtti* tradition regarding them is really wretched — much sloppier than for the Classical rules. In as many as six of the twenty-three rules to be discussed in this chapter there are strong reasons — quite independently of my hypothesis about the meaning of *vā*, *vibhāṣā*, and *anyatarasyām* — to argue against the tradition with respect to *anuvṛtti* and the segmentation of rules (see 1.2.36, 3.1.50, 3.4.88, 6.1.52, 7.4.44, 8.3.49 below).

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[3] " There is, however, evidence to show that the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* and other *Brāhmaṇas* were at one time accented. " (Macdonell, p. 76, quoting Weber, *Indische Studien* 10, 421, Max Müller *ASL* 348, Burnell, *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*, p. VI).

[4] For example, the accent rules in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* are brought together under the heading *Vaidikasvaraprakriyā* ' derivation of Vedic accent '.

[5] E. g. 6.1.170 *añceś chandasy asarvanāmasthānam.* There are perhaps a dozen such rules altogether.

The work has been greatly facilitated by Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, and Vishva Bandhu's *Vedic Word-Concordance (VWC)*, all of which provide excellent material for the kind of statistics which must be compiled to check out the rules. In many cases, Whitney's and Wackernagel's grammars already provide the required information on the relative frequency of variants.

(1) 1.2.35 *uccaistarāṁ vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ* [34 *yajñakarmaṇi*] [33 *ekaśruti*]
1.2.36 *vibhāṣā chandasi* [33 *ekaśruti*]

These first two rules are special in that they do not have anything to do with the Vedic *language* as such, but with its *recitation*. The Vedic texts won't be of any use in checking them out, and we must instead go to the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrautasūtras*, which provide instructions on ritual practices.

The first rule says that the *mantra vaṣaṭ* in a sacrificial act is preferably *(vā)* pronounced with higher pitch (*uccaistarām*, i.e. higher than the pitch level *uccaiḥ* ' high ' proper to *udātta* accent[6]). The intonation of *vaṣaṭ* is a matter to which considerable attention is devoted in the ritual works. The tradition has it that the intensity with which the *hotṛ* priest says *vaṣaṭ* in the sacrifice affects the well-being of the patron *(yajamāna)* who has commissioned the sacrifice. This is stated already in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (3.7) : *yaṁ kāmayeta yathaivānījāno 'bhūt tathaivejānaḥ syād iti yathaivāsya ṛcaṁ brūyāt tathaivāsya vaṣaṭ kuryāt sadṛśam evainaṁ tat karoti. yaṁ kāmayeta pāpīyān syād ity uccaistarām asya ṛcam uktvā śanaistarāṁ vaṣaṭ-kuryāt pāpīyāṁsam evainaṁ tat karoti. yaṁ kāmayeta śreyān syād iti śanaistarām asya ṛcam uktvoccaistarāṁ vaṣaṭ kuryāc chriya evainaṁ tac cchriyām ādadhāti.* " If he [the *hotṛ*] wants him [the *yajamāna*] to be after sacrificing just as he was before sacrificing, then he should say *vaṣaṭ* just as he says the *ṛc*. That way he makes him the same. If he wants him to become worse off, then he should say the *ṛc* more intensively and then say *vaṣaṭ* more quietly. That way he makes him worse off. If he wants him to become better off, then he should say the *ṛc* more quietly and then say *vaṣaṭ* more intensively. That way he puts him from prosperity into prosperity. "

Apart from the fact that it justifies Pāṇini's use of *vā* in the rule, the passage is interesting in showing early recognition of the relative character of intonation : the prominence of *vaṣaṭ* is not indicated in absolute terms, but in relation to

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6. 1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*.

the preceding *ṛc* (the *yājyā* verses of the sacrifice). This is also why the *vaṣaṭ* is said to be pronounced not simply *uccaiḥ* but *uccaistarām*, exactly as in Pāṇini's rule. Several of the *Śrautasūtras* present, in varying degrees of elaboration, the same general picture. They show phonetic sophistication by distinguishing between pitch and loudness, which seem to be lumped together in the *Brāhmaṇa* version. Thus the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* states that the *yājyā* has both the property of being extra high-piched and the property of being extra loud.[7] The *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* first gives a somewhat unclear blanket rule : " One should utter *vaṣaṭ* angrily, that is, the sound of the voice should be high. "[8] It then proceeds to enumerate the special effects produced by various distinct modulations of the voice : " If he wants the patron to die, he should first recite loudly and then say *vaṣaṭ* as if pressing down [his voice]. If he wants him to become worse off, he should say *vaṣaṭ* in a lower tone than the *yājyā*. If he wants him to become better off, he should say *vaṣaṭ* in a higher tone than the *yājyā* " etc.[9] Apparently, the distinction between " pressing down " and " lowering " the voice again has to do with loudness versus pitch. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, finally, the discussion is compressed into two laconic rules 1.1.34 *uccaistarāṁ vaṣaṭkāraḥ*, 1.1.35 *samo vā* (where *vā* of course does not have its Pāṇinian sense, but simply means " optionally ").

An interesting feature of rules 1.2.35–36 is the use of a different expression for " optionally " in each. According to tradition, the purpose of again saying " optionally " in 1.2.36 is to block the *anuvṛtti* of *yajñakarmaṇi*. But by Pāṇini's *anuvṛtti* conventions it is cancelled by the parallel locative *chandasi* anyway[10]. The reason why *vibhāṣā* is needed in the second rule is rather that the modality must be switched from " preferably " to " preferably not ". Rule 1.2.36 allows for optional *ekaśruti* ' monotone ' in Vedic recitation. The alternative of using the regular three pitches *udātta*, *svarita*, and *anudātta* is certainly the one that is recommended or required in the *Prātiśākhyas* as well as in the *Śrautasūtras*. Hence it was necessary to mention *vibhāṣā* in the rule.

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[7] 1.5.6 *yājyāyā eva uccaistaratvabalīyastvobhayadharmavattvam.*

[8] 24.14.4 *apaguryа vaṣaṭkarotīty uccair vādaḥ śabdasya.*

[9] 24.14.5 *yaṁ kāmayeta pramāyukaḥ syād iti tatroccair apagurya nikhidan niva vaṣaṭ kuryāt. yaṁ kāmayeta pāpīyān syād iti nīcaistarāṁ tasya yājyāyā vaṣaṭ kuryāt. yaṁ kāmayeta vasīyān syād iti uccaistarāṁ tasya yājyāyā vaṣaṭ kuryāt.*

[10] See Ch. 4, *Note* at 7.2.68 for discussion of these conventions.

The *ekaśruti* mode of reciting the *Vedas* is prescribed in the *Śrautasūtras* for certain occasions. Otherwise, of course, the *Vedas* are supposed to be recited with their proper accents.

In conclusion, these two rules definitely support our interpretation of *vā* as 'preferably' and *vibhāṣā* as 'preferably not'.

(**2**) 1.4.9 *ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā* [8 *patiḥ*] [7 *ghi*]

The word *pati* 'lord' is preferably (*vā*) called *ghi* when it is in construction with a genitive, as in *kṣetrasya patiḥ* 'lord of the field'. The *ghi* paradigm has already been partly explained in Ch. 2 (1.4.5–6). The two paradigms and their derivations are summarized in the table below.

	Underlying form	non-*ghi* form	*ghi* form	Rules deriving *ghi* form
dat. sg.	*pati*+*Ṅe*	*patye*	(*kṣetrasya*) *pataye*	7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*
abl.-gen. sg.	*pati* + *Ṅas*(I)	*patyuḥ*	(*kṣetrasya*) *pateḥ*	7.3.111 and 6.1.110 *ṅasiṅasoś ca*
loc. sg.	*pati*+*Ṅi*	*patyau*	(*kṣetrasya*) *patau*	7.3.118–9 *aud ac ca gheḥ*
instr. sg.	*pati* + *āṄ*	*patyā*	(*kṣetrasya*) *patinā*	7.3.120 *āṅo nā'striyām*

The *ghi* forms, which according to Pāṇini's rule are preferred, are normal in these cases, according to Wackernagel 3, 143. He cites as the only contrary example *VS*.17.78^{c} *pátye víśvasya bhū́manaḥ* 'lord of the whole world', which he explains as due to its metrical equivalence to *RV*. 9.101.7^{c} *pátir v.b.* (the *ghi* form *pátaye v.b.* would have an extra syllable). Pāṇini's rule, then, states the Vedic preference correctly.

(**3**) 3.1.50 *gupeś chandasi* [48 *caṅ*] [44 *cleḥ*]

After the root *gup* 'protect' the abstract aorist marker *cli*[11] is in Vedic replaced by *CaṄ*, the ending of the reduplicated aorist, e.g. 1 sg. *ajūgupam*. According to the traditional understanding, the rule is optional by *vibhāṣā* carried over from 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dhetśvyoḥ*. The reduplicated aorist

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[11] Itself a replacement of *luṅ* by 3.1.48 *cli luṅi*.

ajūgupam would then be a marginal option, and the preferred Vedic forms would be, *agopiṣam* and *agopāyiṣam*. But in reality, only the reduplicated aorist forms are attested in Vedic literature. That would make the present rule a counter-example to our claim that *vibhāṣā* denotes a less preferred option.

But there is no reason to suppose that *vibhāṣā* is read into the present rule. On the contrary, according to Pāṇini's ordinary procedure elsewhere in the grammar, optionality is discontinued unless some special effort is made to keep it valid (see above, Ch. 2, p. 45 ff.). For example, take this nearby sequence :

3.1.57 *irito va*
3.1.58 *jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuś-vibhyaś ca* [57 *vā*]
3.1.59 *kṛmṛdṛruhibhyaś chandasi* [*vā* discontinued]

All three rules replace the aorist marker *cli* by *aṄ* : 3.1.57 in roots marked with diacritic *IR*, 3.1.58 in the roots *jṝ* 'decay', *stambhU* 'prop' etc., and 3.1.59 in *kṛ* 'make', *mṛ* 'die' etc. in Vedic (*chandasi*). The indicator of optionality *vā* is continued from 3.1.57 into the next rule, but is ousted in the following rule, which the tradition agrees is obligatory. This can be seen in many other Vedic rules. *Anyatarasyām* of 6.1.169 *antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāse* is discontinued in 6.1.170 *añceś chandasy asarvanāmasthānam*. Similarly 3.1.122-123, 3.1.42-43, 7.2.27-31. If the optionality is to continue when the rules switch to a new dialectal domain, then this must be expressly indicated. It is done by means of *ca* in 6.1.209 *juṣṭārpite ca cchandasi* (see below for more on this rule) and in 6.3.108 *pathi ca cchandasi*. In 1.2.61 *chandasi punarvasvor ekavacanam*, *anyatarasyām* is kept in effect from 1.2.58, for the mention of *nityam* in 1.2.63 signals that the entire sequence from 1.2.58 up to 1.2.62 is optional. Likewise the continuation of *vibhāṣā* from 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ* into 6.1.52 *khideś chandasi* and beyond is shown by *nityam* in 6.1.57 nityaṁ *smayateḥ*, which marks its terminus.

I conclude from this that the traditional *vṛtti* on 3.1.50 *gupeś chandasi* is in error when it makes the rule optional. Rather, the rule gives the reduplicated aorist *ajūgupam* as obligatory for Vedic. Unlike the traditional interpretation, this agrees with attested Vedic usage, conforms to Pāṇini's normal *anuvṛtti* procedures, and is consistent with our hypothesis about the meaning of *vibhāṣā*.

(4) 3.2.105 *chandasi liṭ*
3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā* [105 *chandasi*]
3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* [106 *liṭaḥ vā*] [105 *chandasi*]
[84 *bhūte*]

In order to understand the import of the optional rules 106–7, it is first necessary to look at 105 in the context of Pāṇini's theory of tenses. Under the heading 3.2.84 *bhūte* 'past action', Pāṇini introduces three tenses : *luṅ* 'aorist', *laṅ* 'imperfect', and *liṭ* 'perfect'. The imperfect is further qualified as applying to remoter past action (*anadyatane* 'before today' 3.2.111) and the perfect still more narrowly as non-witnessed remoter past action (*paro'kṣe* 3.2.115). These special rules limit the aorist to expressing recent past action.

To this system Pāṇini adds the rule 105 *chandasi liṭ*, which allows the perfect to be used in Vedic in the same way as the aorist. But this is directly followed by two rules (106–7) which preferably replace the finite perfect, in this Vedic aoristic use only, by the participles, middle *KānaC* (= *āná*) and active *KvasU* (= *vas*).[12] In other words, in Vedic the perfect can express recent past, like the aorist, but this use of the perfect is more characteristic of the participles than of the finite forms.

Pāṇini's rules correspond to the facts quite well on this particular point. According to Whitney (p. 296), in the Veda " the perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true " perfect " sense, or *signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorist in the older language....)*; but oftenest it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present, "[13]. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the distinction of tense value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. " And the difference between the finite and participle forms of the perfect is also noted by Whitney : " *Throughout the Brāhmaṇas, the perfect participles have in general the true " perfect " value, indicating a completed or " proximate " past.* " By " true perfect value " Whitney means precisely the characteristic use of the aorist : " The aorist of the older language has *the value of a proper " perfect " :* that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present.... *In general, it indicates what has just taken place;* and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced." (P. 329).

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[12] The diacritic *K* on both indicates that the stem has weak grade (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*).

[13] The use of the perfect for present time has not been covered by Pāṇini, aside from 3.4.6 *chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ*.

(5) 3.4.88 *vā chandasi* [87 *ser hy apic ca*] [85 *loṭaḥ*]

The preceding rule 87 changes the 2.sg. ending *si(P)* to *hi* in the imperative, and cancels its diacritic *P*.[14] The function of *P* is to make 2. sg. *si* unaccented[15] and to cause the root to get *guṇa* grade,[16] e.g. *dvékṣi* 'you hate'. By cancelling *P* in the substitute suffix *hi*, we therefore get weak roots and suffix accent, e.g. *dviḍḍhí* 'hate'.

According to tradition, the scope of *vā* is not the whole preceding rule, but only the portion *apic ca*.

The option would thus account for ablaut doublets like *punāhí-punīhí*, *śṛṇāhí-śṛṇīhí* etc. (Macdonell, p. 350). The strong forms are quite marginal, and practically limited to the *nā*-class of present stems, so that the use of *vā* in the rule would be quite justified.

A problem, not so much for our interpretation of *vā* as for this traditional interpretation of Pāṇini's rule, is that the *hi* imperatives are *always* end-accented, even in the rare cases where they show a strong stem form. A more attractive interpretation has recently been suggested by Palsule (1972). His idea is that *vā* refers to the *whole si → hi* replacement. The option of not applying this rule then gives us the Vedic "imperatives" in *si* of the type *satsi*, which are otherwise underivable in Pāṇini's system.[17]

Since such *si* imperatives are a small class which scarcely appears outside the *Ṛgveda*, Pāṇini is correct in marking the *si → hi* rule with *vā*.

On either interpretation of this rule, Pāṇini's use of *vā* constitutes evidence in favour of our interpretation.

(6)	3.4.96	*vaito 'nyatra* [95 *ai*]	[94 *leṭaḥ*]
	3.4.97	*itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* [96 *vā*]	
	3.4.98	*sa uttamasya* [97 *lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*] [96 *vā*]	

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[14] Which would otherwise be carried over into the substitute by virtue of 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhau.*

[15] 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.*

[16] Which would otherwise not be applicable, because of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*, and 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.*

[17] Whitney analyzed them independently the same way as Pāṇini : " .... they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively." (P. 236.) More recently, Cardona (1965) has shown that they really originate in the subjunctive system and Szemerényi (1966) has suggested that they come by haplology from **satsasi* etc.

All three rules are preferred (*vā*) processes which apply to *leṭ* (subjunctive) forms. Though the rules themselves are not restricted to the Vedic language, they can only apply there, because the category *leṭ* only occurs in Vedic.[18] All three rules indeed derive the predominant variants of the subjunctive, as can be seen from the collection of forms in Macdonell.

Rule 3.2.96 turns an *e* of the ending into *ai*, except when its (initial) *ā* has become *ai* by the preceding rule 95 *āta ai* (e. g. 2. and 3. du. mid. *-aithe*, *-aite*, not **aithai*, *aitai*). This change to *ai* is the overwhelmingly favoured treatment in all Vedic, except, for some of the suffixes, in the *Ṛgveda*.[19]

Rule 3.2.97 deletes final *i* of the ending in the active subjunctive. As stated by Pāṇini, the rule is applicable in the singular and the third plural. Actual variation, however, is found only in the 2. and 3. singular. The citations in Macdonell, pp. 322–350 *passim*, show that deletion of *i* is favoured in both cases. The 2. singular has deletion 38 times and retention 20 times, the 3. singular has deletion 88 times and retention 48 times. Pāṇini either did not notice, or ignored, that the 1. singular present retains *i* (19 times) and the 3. plural always deletes it (36 times). From his point of view, this would further support the preference for deletion (the total is 162 times deletion and 87 times retention). This certainly justifies Pāṇini's bringing the deletion rule under *vā*.

Rule 3.4.98 deletes final *s* in the first person (Pāṇini's " last person ") of the subjunctive, i.e. 1. du. *āvas* → *āva*, 1. pl. *āmas* → *āma*. This deletion seems to be not merely favoured but invariable in the extant Vedic texts. Thus Pāṇini may have been mistaken in making the rule optional, but given that he did, *vā* was definitely the right expression to use.[20]

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[18] 3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ* [6 *chandasi*].

[19] " The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of *e* to *ai* in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., *ai* alone is found as ending, even in *RV.*; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only *āvahai* is met with. In 1st plur., *āmahai* prevails in *RV.* and *AV.* (*āmahe* is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2nd sing., *sai* for *se* does not occur in *RV.*, but is the only form in *AV.* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. In 3d. sing., *tai* for *te* occurs once in *RV.*, and is the predominant form in *AV.*, and the only one later. In 2nd pl., *dhvai* for *dhve* is found in one word in *RV.*, and a few times in the *Brāhmaṇas*. In 3d. pl., *ntai* for *nte* is the *Brāhmaṇa* form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in *RV.* nor *AV.* " (Whitney, p. 210).

[20] It might look as though the *vā* of 96 was originally meant to be continued only up to the next rule 97 by means of *ca*. But if we assume that *vā* is discontinued in 98, then the *nityam* ' always ' of 99 *nityaṁ ṅitaḥ* becomes redundant. There is no independent evidence that I am aware of for taking it to be a later addition.

(**7**) 5.3.13 *vā ha ca cchandasi* [12 *kimaḥ at*] [10 *saptamyāḥ*]

The preceding rule 12 *kimo't* introduces *aT* as the locative ending after *kim* ' what ', giving *kva* ' where '.[21] The present rule makes this process optional, though still preferred (*vā*), in Vedic. The other, marginal alternative is the ending *traL*[22] by 5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*, which is general for pronouns,[23] viz. *kutra*. In addition, the present rule allows as a third option the suffix *ha*, viz. *kuha*.

In fact, *kva* is far more common than either *kutra* or *kuha* in Vedic. In the *Ṛgveda*, *kva* occurs 35 times, *kutra* only 3 times, and *kuha* 12 times.[24] This justifies Pāṇini's use of *vā* in the rule.

A problem with rules 5.3. 12–13 is that they do not derive *kva* for Classical Sanskrit. Yet *kva* is common there, indeed much more common than *kutra* (*kuha* is restricted to the *Ṛgveda*, cf. W.3, 564). The tradition suggests that *vā* is read into 5.3.12 by anticipation from 5.3.13. This is a commentator's trick which has no foundation in Pāṇini's system of description. But there is a very simple solution to the difficulty. It appears that the rules have been wrongly divided, and *vā* should properly belong with the first rule, so that we get, instead of the present reading, this version :

5.3.12 *kimo 'd vā*
5.3.13 *ha ca cchandasi*

The validity of translating *vā* as ' preferably ' or ' usually ' remains under this revision — in a way it even becomes stronger, as it now holds correctly for all of Sanskrit rather than just Vedic. If our suggestion is accepted, this case should simply be shifted into the supporting evidence from Classical Sanskrit, to be given in the next chapter.

(**8**) 6.1.52 *khideś chandasi* [51 *vibhāṣā*] [45 *ād ecaḥ*]

In Vedic, a diphthongal root vowel (*e* or *ai*) in the verb *khid* ' force '[25] can marginally be replaced by *ā*. *Vibhāṣā* is not discontinued here because of the special mention of *nityam* in 6.1.57 *nityaṁ smayateḥ*.[26]

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[21] Derivation : *kim* + *a* → *kva* + *a* (7.2.105 *kvāti*) → *kva* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) → *kvà* (6.1.185 *tit svaritam*).

[22] The diacritic *L* indicates that the preceding syllable is accented (6.1.193 *liti*).

[23] 5.3.2 *kiṁsarvanāmabahubhyo 'dvyādibhyaḥ*.

[24] The figures are obtained simply by counting the references in Grassmann's Ṛgvedic dictionary. There may in reality be more examples because the words may occur more than once in some of the verses. I did not waste time checking this as it could not affect the point that *kva* is the commonest of the three words.

[25] *RV*. *ni* + *khid* ' push down, beat down ', *sam* + *khid* ' beat in ', *ā* + *khid* ' tear to '.

The only Vedic forms bearing on this rule appear to be Wackernagel's restoration *ud akhātsur* (*JB.* 2.37) and Narten's reading *(mā) prakhāt* (*KS.* 37.15 : 95, 19), both *s*-aorists. The diphthong appears in the noun *khedā* (*RV.* 3x), translated by Geldner as 'pressure, weight, heavy burden'. Modern scholars have also assigned some apparent cases of *khād* 'chew, devour' to this verb, e.g. *vikhāda* 'destruction', but there is no reason to believe that this was Pāṇini's analysis. The Classical Sanskrit forms always have the diphthong, e.g. caus. *khedayati*, etc. Inconclusive.

(9) 6.1.106 *vā chandasi* [105 *dīrghāt, jasi ca*] [104 *na, ici*]
[102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*]

When a stem-final vowel is followed by a vowel belonging to a nominative or accusative case suffix, the two vowels contract into a single long vowel with the quality of the first (102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*), e. g. nom. du. *agni* + *au* → *agnī*. This rule is limited by certain prohibitions and special rules. In particular, 105 *dīrghāj jasi ca* says that this type of contraction does not take place in the case of a long vowel followed by a vowel other than *a* or by nom. pl. *as*, e.g. nom. du. *kumārī* + *au* → *kumāryau*,[27] not **kumārī*. But that prohibition in turn is qualified by the present rule which follows it, 106 *vā chandasi*. It makes the prohibition optional, though preferable *(vā)* in Vedic, so that there we can after all contract *kumārī* + *au* by 102 into *kumārī*, and this is the preferred variant relative to *kumāryau*.

The pertinent Vedic forms are listed in Macdonell, pp. 272, 276, and Wackernagel 3, 174–178. In order to assess them rightly, we must first of all remember that Pāṇini was totally unaware of the basic distinction between two types of *ī* stems in Vedic, the *devī* and *vṛkī* type. There is no trace left of this distinction in the language of the *Sūtra* period (W. 3, 172), so that Pāṇini, taking as always his own speech as basic, had no way of perceiving anything but arbitrary variation in the Vedic paradigms. In Vedic, the actual situation is that stems of the *vṛkī* type never show contraction in the cases in question, e.g. nom. du. *nāḍyaù*, nom. pl. *nāḍyàḥ* 'tubes' (W. 172). Stems of the *nadī* type, which are much more frequent, have contraction[28] consistently in the *Ṛgveda*, and decreasingly in more recent Vedic literature, with only vestigial examples in more recent prose portions of the *Brāhmaṇas* (see W. pp. 175–6 for nom. du. *-ī/-yau*, pp. 176–8 for nom. pl. *-īḥ/-yaḥ*). For Pāṇini, of course, there was no question of "earlier" or "later" Vedic texts. From his point of view, contraction was simply something which took place usually in *ī*-stems.

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[26] See above, on 3.1.50.

[27] 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*.

The overall predominance of contraction (du. *-ī*, pl. *-īḥ*) over non-contraction (du. *-yau* or *-yā*, pl. *-yaḥ*) is clear from the inventory of Vedic forms in Macdonell. In the nom. acc. voc. *dual*, *contraction* occurs in "76 feminine stems in the *RV*. and over 20 in the *VS*." (plus one masculine stem), the commonest forms in the *RV*. being *ródasī* (87 x) 'the two worlds', *dyā́vā-pṛthivī́* (65x) 'heaven and earth', *maht* (27x), *pṛthivī* (20x), etc. (p. 276). *Non-contraction* occurs in 9 feminines and one masculine in all the Vedas together (p. 272), the commonest form in the *RV*, being *rathyā̀* (11x, Grassmann). In the nom. voc. *plural*, *contraction* in feminines (there is also one masculine stem) "is very frequent, being formed from 166 stems in the *RV*., and occurring in the independent parts of the *TS*. at least 25 and of the *VS*. at least 40 times. The commonest forms are : *devī́s* (43), *pūrvī́s* (46) 'many', *óṣadhīs* (27), *vā́ṇīs* (12) 'songs', *pátnīs* (11)", etc. (p. 276). *Non-contraction* is found in 31 stems, the commonest being *nadyàs* (15 x, Grassmann). If the *Brāhmaṇas* are included under *chandas* in this rule (cf. the first paragraph of this chapter), the ratio will be evened out somewhat, for noncontraction there begins to penetrate into the *devī*- stems. But "though *yas*- forms occur in the *Brāhmaṇas*, along with *īs*- forms, both are used rahter indifferently as nom. and accus." (Whitney, p. 133.) Thus, if *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* are taken together, the contracted forms are still overwhelmingly more frequent in these two case forms of *ī*-stems. This justifies Pāṇini's use of *vā* in the present rule.

(10) 6.1.209 *juṣṭārpite ca cchandasi* [208 *vibhāṣā*]
6.1.210 *nityaṁ mantre* [209 *juṣṭārpite ca cchandasi*]
[197 *ādiḥ*],
[159 *udāttaḥ*]

Ordinarily, the past participles *juṣṭa* 'liked' and *arpita* 'fixed' would be expected to have final accent. This is in fact how they are accented in Classical Sanskrit according to Pāṇini. But the two rules 6.1.209–210 give them initial accent in the Vedic language. This happens *vibhāṣā* (marginally) in *chandas* by the first rule, and obligatorily in *mantra* by the second. *Mantra* refers to the metrical portion of Vedic literature, and this limits the scope of the more general term *chandas* to the remainder, i.e. Vedic prose. The comparison of these rules with the facts is very instructive.

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[28] Historically, it is not at all a matter of contraction of stem-final *ī* with the following vowel. But we must look at things in Pāṇini's way here.

The two words are very common, and they are nearly always initially accented in Vedic verse, just as Pāṇini's second rule provides. There is one exceptional case of *juṣṭá* and one of *arpitá* in the *Ṛgveda*, and three more of *juṣṭá* in other *Saṁhitās*. Unfortunately, the extant non-*mantra*, i.e. prose Vedic, texts are almost all unaccented.[29] Both words are frequent there too, though we cannot tell now how they were originally accented there. But it is to just these cases that Pāṇini must be referring when he says that *juṣṭa* and *arpita* can be marginally accented on the first syllable in non-*mantra* Vedic literature. There is no way around the conclusion that *Pāṇini knew a sizable portion of accented Vedic prose*—which today survives only in unaccented form and perhaps has been in part lost altogether.

(11) 6.2.164 *vibhāṣā chandasi* [163 *saṁkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ*] [162 *bahuvrīhau*] [143 *antaḥ*] [6.1.159 *udāttaḥ*].

Bahuvrīhi compounds of a numeral with *stana* 'teat', which by the preceding rule 163 *saṁkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ* have obligatorily final accent in Pāṇini's language, have it only marginally in Vedic. The words seem to be concentrated in the various branches of the *Yajurveda : dvistanā ŚB.* 6.5.2.19, *dvistanā́ TS.* 5.1.6.4, *MS.* 3.1.7, *trístanā ŚB. K.* 7.1.4.14, *cátuḥstanā ŚB.* 6.5.2.18, *TS.* 5.1.6.4, *catuḥstanā́ MS.* 3.1.7, *aṣṭā́stanā TS.* 5.1.6.4, *aṣṭastanā́ MS.* 3.1.7. Inconclusive.

(12) 6.4.9 *vā ṣapūrvasya nigame* [8 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau*] [7 *nopadhāyāḥ*] [1 *aṅgasya*] [6.3.111 *dīrghaḥ*]

A penultimate vowel in an *n*-stem is preferably (*vā*) lengthened in Vedic in strong cases excluding the Vocative, if preceded by *ṣ*, e.g. *vṛṣaṇam* / *vṛṣāṇam* 'male' (acc. sg.). This is a restriction on the preceding rule 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*, which lengthens the vowel of *n*-stems in the strong cases generally. The effect of the present rule, then, is to allow marginally a short vowel to be retained after *ṣ*.

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[29] Except for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which Pāṇini may not have known, since it is a text of the White *Yajurveda* tradition.

A review of the Vedic usage in this regard shows that the frequency of lengthening depends on both the word and the period. Some words falling under Pāṇini's option were in fact never subject to it : *takṣan* ' carpenter ' and *triśīrṣan* ' three-headed ' have a long vowel from the *Ṛgveda* on (*takṣāṇam, triśīrṣāṇam,* not **takṣaṇam, *triśīrṣaṇam). On the other hand, *Pūṣan* always shows up with a short vowel, right down to the *Sūtra* period. In *vṛṣan* the short vowel predominates in the *Saṁhitās* (particularly the *Ṛgveda*) and the long vowel gradually gains ground in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. In *ukṣan* ' bull ' the short vowel is disappearing already in the earliest language *(ukṣaṇam Saṁh.* 8x, mostly *RV*, *ukṣāṇam Saṁh.* 13x, only *āṇam* in *Br.*, *Sū.)*. In *ṛbhukṣan* ' lord of the Ṛbhus ' the relevant forms are attested only in the *Saṁhitās*, and there always with short *ă*. The nominative singular, of course, *always* lengthens in all stems.

We see that Pāṇini has disregarded these details and " rounded off " the distribution by his rule that lengthening is preferred after *ṣ*. Except for the nouns *Pūṣan* and *ṛbhukṣan*, this is consistent with the Vedic facts.

(**13**) 6.4.162 *vibhāṣarjoś chandasi* [161 *ra ṛtaḥ*] [154 *iṣṭhemeyassu*]

The *ṛ* of *ṛju* ' straight ' can marginally become *ra* before the comparative and superlative suffixes *īyas* and *iṣṭha* and the abstract noun forming *iman* in Vedic : *rajīyas, rajiṣṭha*, or preferably (in Classical Sanskrit obligatorily) *ṛjīyas, ṛjiṣṭha*. But Vedic departs from the Classical norm more than Pāṇini was aware. The usual Vedic forms are *ṛjīyas* (6x *Saṁh.*) and *rajiṣṭha* (17x *Saṁh.*). The form *rajīyas* occurs only once in Vedic, and *ṛjiṣṭha* is not found in Vedic at all.[30] Therefore, Pāṇini's statement that *vā* in Vedic is marginal before these suffixes is inaccurate : in Vedic *ra* is marginal only before *īyas*, but obligatory before *iṣṭha*.

(**14**) 7.3.70 *ghor lopo leṭi vā*

The various roots of the form *dā* and *dhā* which are collectively designated as *ghu*[31] preferably *(vā)* lose their final *ā* in the subjunctive *(leṭ)*. The category *leṭ* is Vedic only (see above rules 3.4.96–8), so we are justified in treating this among the Vedic rules. By applying the deletion, we derive forms like 3.sg. *dadat, dadhat.* They are common and make up the standard subjunctive paradigm of these verbs (Macdonell 342). By not applying the deletion, we derive forms like 3. sg. *dadāt, dadhāt.* They are not common, and are not from our point of view really subjunctives at all, but rather " injunctives ", a category which Pāṇini does not recognize as such. In any case, Pāṇini's rule that deletion is preferred fits completely with the Vedic data.

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[30] I cannot find examples of *rajiman* or *ṛjiman*.

[31] 1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adāp.*

(**15**) 7.3.94 *yaṅo vā* [93 *īṭ*] [89 *luki, hali*] [87 *piti sārvadhātuke*]

In the intensive *(yaṄ)*, consonantal *sārvadhātuka* endings with diacritic *P* preferably *(vā)* take the initial augment *īṬ* if the morpheme *yaṄ* has been deleted by *luk*, e.g. *carkarīti* or *carkarti*. As the intensive is truly productive only in Vedic,[32] I have included this rule among the Vedic rules. The list of forms in Macdonell (391) has 12 cases without *ī* as against 23 cases with *ī*. Pāṇini is thus correct in regarding the forms with *ī* as preferred.

(**16**) 7.4.44 *vibhāṣā chandasi* [43 *jahāteḥ, ktvi*] [42 *hi*]

Vibhāṣā etc. always refer to the immediately preceding process. Therefore as it stands the rule must be understood as follows. The root *hā* of *jahāti* ' leave' can marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be replaced by *hi* in Vedic before the gerund suffix *Ktvā*. The preferred option is *hītvā*, with *ī* by 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṁ hali.*

In fact, however, the preferred option **hītvā* is nowhere found, in Vedic or even in the Classical language. There are 27 citations of *hitvā (-tvāya, -tvī)* from the *Saṁhitās* in Vishva Bandhu's *Vedic Index*, and it is indicated there that more examples occur. From the *Brāhmaṇas*, 11 occurrences are given there. But **hītvā* simply cannot be documented.[33]

If **hītvā* does not exist, certainly not in Vedic, how can Pāṇini present it as a Vedic option, let alone as a *preferred* option ? Even supposing that it might have been used in some now lost branch of the Vedas, it could hardly have been so immensely frequent there as to out-balance the commonplace *hitvā*, the form used in all the extant *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*.

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[32] " In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. " (Whitney, 363.)

[33] This goes also for the form **hātvā*, which the *Kāśikā* wrongly wants to derive instead.

A solution to the problem suggests itself when we look at the context of 7.4.43–44 in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The two rules are sandwiched in between rules dealing with the verb *dhā* 'put':

7.4.42 *dadhāter hiḥ* [40 *ti kiti*]
7.4.43 *jahāteś ca ktvi*
7.4.44 *vibhāṣā chandasi*
7.4.45 *sudhita-vasudhita-nemadhita-dhiṣva-dhiṣīya ca*

Rule 42 turns *dhā* to *hi* before suffixes with diacritic K beginning with *t* (pp. *hita*, ger. *hitvā*), and 45 gives a list of Vedic forms where *dhā* has the weak form *dhi* (instead of expected *hi* by 42 for the first three and *dhī* by 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṁ hali* for the other two). If we suppose that 44 *vibhāṣā chandasi* was intended to refer to *dhā*, rather than to *hā*, before *Ktvā*, the rule will square with the facts, for the attested Vedic gerund of *dhā* is *dhitvā*.

In other words, before *Ktvā* two special things happen which do not happen before other suffixes in *t* with diacritic *K* : *hi* replaces *hā*, and *hi* replaces *dhā* only optionally in Vedic instead of obligatorily. Possibly the observations about *hā (jahāti)* were added later to the system. It is difficult to find a better formulation within the normal conventions of *anuvṛtti*, however. One possibility would have been :

dadhāter hiḥ
vibhāṣā chandasi ktvi
jahāteḥ

The problem is that the context of the third rule would now have to be read as *ti kiti* from 40, which would resume unless some special indication is given that *ktvi* is still valid, just as it resumes in the present text in 46 *do dad ghoḥ*. If the rule were instead given as *jahāteś ca* in order to continue *ktvi*, it would be ambiguous as *vibhāṣā* or *chandasi* or both could equally well be meant. This could be avoided by adding *nityam* and *sarvatra* to *jahāteś ca* in order to cancel the continuation of *vibhāṣā* and *chandasi* from the preceding rule — an unfortunate complication — or by switching the order of the rules to put *vibhāṣā* and *chandasi* last, resulting in a *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' of *anuvṛtti*. Pāṇini (or some successor of his who revised the grammar) chose the latter horn of the dilemma.

It is a remarkable comment on the close fit with which Pāṇini's conventions on *anuvṛtti* are tailored to the requirements of language that such problems very rarely come up. The descriptive system is so marvellously constructed that it is nearly always possible to compress related rules without serious ambiguity or repetition of items. It is also an interesting property of language that it lends itself so well to this approach. From our modern point of view, Pāṇini's conventions for *anuvṛtti* constitute a remarkably successful theory of the inter-relationship of linguistic processes. The notational conventions of generative grammar, such as braces, parentheses, and angled brackets, make up another, less elaborate but equally precise theory, which explicitly addresses itself to that question. A systematic comparison between them on the basis of some extensive body of grammatical analysis should yield interesting results.

(17) 8.3.49 *chandasi vāprāmreḍitayoḥ* [44 *sāmarthye*] [38 *saḥ*] [37 *kupvoḥ*] [34 *visarjanīyasya*] [8.2.106 *saṁhitāyām*]

Visarjanīya (ḥ) before a labial or velar preferably *(vā)* becomes *s*[34], except before *pra*[35] and an *āmreḍita*.[36] The tradition continues the condition *saṁhitāyām* ' in close juncture ', i.e. with no intervening pause, but it does not continue *sāmarthye* ' in semantic / syntactic relationship '. However, it is clear that *sāmarthye* too holds here. Compounds, which mostly have *s* in Vedic (Whitney 58), are all linked by the *sāmarthya* relation. As for phrasal combinations, Whitney summarizes the cases where *s* shows up there in Vedic as follows :

> " The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the *Prātiśākhyas*. The chief classes of cases are : 1. The final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form ; 2. of a genitive before its governing noun : as *divás putráḥ, iḍás padé ;* 3. of an ablative before *pári :* as *himávatas pári :* 4. of other less classifiable cases : as *dyāúṣ pitā́, tríṣ pūtvā́, yás pátiḥ, paridhíṣ pátāti*, etc."

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[34] And *ṣ* after *i*, *u* (8.3.19 *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ*).

[35] The second part of a reduplicated word expressing distributivity or universality (8.1.1–15), e. g. *páruḥparuḥ* ' each member '.

[36] The purpose of excluding *pra* in this rule is not merely to stop *s* in traditionally cited examples like *AV* 5.26.1 *agniḥ pravidvān* but to stop *s* in compounds before *pra*, as in *TS* 3.2.9 *itaḥpradāna* ' offering from here ', which are exceptions to the otherwise very prevalent use of *s* in compounds (W. 1, 341).

(P. 58). Every case mentioned by Whitney involves a *sāmarthya* relationship between the two words, except for *triṣ pūtvā́* ' having purified three times ', and this has been duly taken care of by Pāṇini together with other similar examples in an earlier rule, which comes before the heading *sāmarthye* (8.3.43 *dvistriścatur iti kṛtvo'rthe*). And *sāmarthye* must be continued also in the whole remaining portion of *ḥ* → *s* rules up to 8.3.54. For example, 8.3.53 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ patiputrapṛṣṭhapārapadapayaspoṣeṣu*, which requires *s* in a genitive before the words *pati*, *putra* etc., as in *divas putraḥ* ' the son of heaven ', ought not to allow the derivation of *s* from *ḥ* in cases like *patir divaḥ putraṁ paśyati* ' the lord of heaven sees his son ' where *divas* is not related by *sāmarthya* to *putram*. This is prevented by continuing *sāmarthye*.

The rule makes processes such as 8.3.45–48 which are obligatory in Classical Sanskrit optional (though still preferred) in Vedic, and on the other hand, extends *s* optionally to new environments where it cannot appear in Classical Sanskrit. The option, however, is in turn limited by the following rules (8.3.50 ff.), which make *s* obligatory in some environments. It appears that in Vedic, the appearance of *s* was marked by considerable flexibility, which has given way in the Classical language to the retention of *s* in certain stereotyped combinations (usually obligatorily) and its disappearance elsewhere.

Taking all this into consideration, Pāṇini's use of *vā* in this rule is clearly appropriate. Within compounds, and within *samartha* phrasal combinations, *s* is the favoured option in Vedic.

(18) 8.3.54 *iḍāyā vā* [53 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ patiputrapṛṣṭhapārapadapayaspoṣeṣu*] [the rest as in 8.3.49]

The preceding rule 8.3.53 makes *s* obligatory (against 8.3.49 which merely allows it optionally) in a genitive before *pati* ' lord ' and the other nouns listed in the rule. The present rule in turn takes this back for gen. *iḍāyāḥ* ' libation '. That is, *iḍāyā́s padé* is not obligatory, but merely preferred *(vā)*, and we also can have *iḍāyā́ḥ padé*. The *s*-form is prevalent in Vedic. It is apparently constant in the *Ṛgveda* (e.g. 3.2.3.4, 3.29.3, 10.9.4) and the *Atharvaveda* (3.10.6, *Paippalāda* recension 1.105.2). The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* has, however, *íḍāyāḥ padé* (1.2.5.1, 6.1.8.2). Thus, Pāṇini's use of *vā* is consonant with the usage of the Vedas.

(**19**) 8.3.119 *nivyabhibhyo 'ḍvyavāye vā cchandasi* [110 *na*] [57 *iṇ koḥ*] [56 *saḥ*] [55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*]

This is the last in a series of rules prohibiting (110 *na*. . .) the change from *s* to *ṣ* which is required by 8.3.55–58 after vowels other than *a* and after velars. It says that *s* preferably *(vā)* does not become *ṣ* after the preverbs *ni*, *vi*, and *abhi* when the past tense augment *aṬ* intervenes, e.g. 3. sg. impf. *ny asīdat*, or marginally *ny aṣīdat* ' sat down '. In most verbs falling under this rule, *s* is usual when the augment intervenes, namely in *ni*+*sad*, *vi*+*sthā*, *vi*+*stabh*, *abhi*+*sthā*, *abhi*+*sidh*, *abhi*+*svar*. On the other hand, *ṣ* is preferred in *vi*+*sah*, *abhi*+*su* and the very common *abhi*+*sic* (12x *Saṁh.*, always with *ṣ*). Pāṇini's rule is justified in that the majority of verbs prefer *s*. However, the margin is not large.[37]

Altogether, we have investigated twenty-three rules of Pāṇini whose application is restricted to the Vedic language, sixteen of them with *vā* and seven with *vibhāṣā*. Two of those twenty-three rules (6.1.209, 6.2.164), both dealing with accent, are insufficiently represented in the extant versions of the Vedic texts to permit a decision either way, and one (3.1.50) was found on closer analysis not to be optional after all. Of the remainder, nineteen were found consistent with the proposed meaning distinction between *vā* and *vibhāṣā*, and one was found to run counter to it. In three of the cases (6.1.52, 6.4.9, 8.3.119) the amount or margin of evidence, though tending in favour of our position, is relatively small; in another three (3.1.50, 7.4.44, 8.3.49) our evaluation of the evidence depends on a non-traditional interpretation, which, however, has to be adopted anyway on other grounds in each case. On balance, the Vedic material gives clearcut support to our hypothesis.

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[37] From a historical point of view, *s* is the older option, and *ṣ* becomes established in the later *Saṁhitās* (W. 1, 235).

CHAPTER IV

PĀṆINI AND SANSKRIT

In the next stage of our comparison between Pāṇini and the usage attested in literature, we turn from Vedic to Classical Sanskrit. Should we expect to find any agreement at all here between the preferences expressed in the optional rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the forms actually preferred in the works of Sanskrit authors ? And if so, how close can we expect the agreement to be ? That depends on what we consider to have been the relative importance of Pāṇini's rules versus the continuous literary tradition in setting the standard of usage. In the case of *obligatory* rules, the more an author keeps his eye fixed on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the more his language will naturally conform to it. But in the case of the *optional* rules, exactly the opposite will be true.

Imagine first a pure *lakṣanaikacakṣuṣka :* an author guided solely by Pāṇini's rules, which necessarily means by his idea of what the rules say. In the writings of such an author, no trace of the preferences expressed in Pāṇini's optional rules can be expected to show up. For we know that the distinction between *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* had been forgotten even by Kātyāyana's time, and no-one ever had any notion that they expressed more than simply an arbitrary choice between two equally good options. For our hypothetical author, the application of every optional rule is simply a matter of randomly choosing one of two alternative possibilities.

Now compare him with a pure *lakṣyaikacakṣuṣka :* an author guided solely by usages, seeking to conform as best he can to the actual language of his predecessors and contemporaries, without paying any attention to the grammatical rules. Because he would be linked by a living literary tradition to Pāṇini's time, he might in at least some respects continue to exercise the same preferences which Pāṇini had in his speech. For example, if he had run into acc. sg. *striyam* more often than *strīm*, he might be expected to use it more often himself.

Therefore, in the domain of optional rules we end up with this paradox : *the more a writer tries to follow Pāṇini's rules, the less his writings will follow Pāṇini's rules.* It is a cheap paradox since we know perfectly well why this must be so. Still, formulating it clearly will help us to place the evidence from Classical Sanskrit literature in proper perspective.

It is first of all clear that we must exclude from the literary evidence such works as the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, which are composed specifically in order to illustrate the application of the grammatical rules. They use many forms cleverly derived within Pāṇini's and Hemacandra's systems, but not found elsewhere in literature. For our purpose, they illustrate but do not add anything to what is already contained in the grammatical commentaries. They are therefore disregarded in what follows, and forms which are attested only in them are simply considered as unattested in literature.

A priori we must exclude the post-Pāṇinian grammatical works themselves. This goes not only for commentaries on Pāṇini, but also for works in other systems of Sanskrit grammar. For the latter do not, any more than the former, contribute any observations about the stylistic values of the variants described by Pāṇini, or even — what would be equally helpful to us in this context — question the acceptability of the usage described in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as traditionally interpreted. In recasting Pāṇini's rules, Candra, Hemacandra and other later grammarians make some formal improvements, extend or restrict the applicability of some rules, taking account of details noted in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and eliminate the Vedic and often also the accentual rules. But they scarcely make the sort of observations about Sanskrit usage which we could use as an independent check on the formulation of Pāṇini's optional rules : viz. that certain forms allowed by Pāṇini are not in current use in their own speech. The later commentators on Pāṇini's own grammar have an even more restricted horizon as far as the facts of Sanskrit usage are concerned.[1] Lexical works such as the *Amarakośa* will also have to be excluded here, for the words they record come from both literary practice and grammatical theory, and it is impossible to be sure, in the crucial cases, whether a word has one or the other source. Therefore, a word cited only in lexical and / or grammatical works, but not documented in literary usage, will be simply termed " unattested ".

In reality, of course, the *lakṣaṇaikacakṣuṣka* and also the *lakṣyaikacakṣuṣka* hardly exist in an absolutely pure state. Even the most ingenious works of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* type must rely on the actual linguistic tradition to a certain extent, most obviously, to fill the gaps left by Pāṇini's rules, for example, on certain points of syntax. As Kumārila Bhaṭṭa gleefully observed, Pāṇini's own rules, as well as the writings of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, are not free from forms which are underivable in the Pāṇinian grammatical system (cf. Ch. 2 above), not to mention the Sanskrit literature on other subjects, where such forms are still more common.

It is precisely the dual transmission via grammar *and* literature which determines the special character of linguistic developments in the Sanskrit language. Certain aspects of the language are more dependent on the former mode of transmission, certain others on the latter. The grammar is naturally most needed if " correct " Pāṇinian standards are to be maintained in the relatively peripheral and rarely instantiated aspects of grammatical structure, which even extensive reading might not happen to illustrate : for example, the choice of active or middle voice for particular verbs (1.3.12–93), or the endless details concerning the presence or absence of the augment *iṬ* in verb forms (7.2.8–78). In an ordinary language, learned orally by children, the amount of discourse on which the acquisition of the grammar is based is so vast that even such finer points will sooner or later be learned from it reasonably completely — though even here they will be more vulnerable to linguistic change by analogy than more central features of grammar. But no reading can equal even a fraction of the child's oral experience with his native language. If a Sanskrit author wants to be sure of getting those things right, he must consult the grammar. Or he may decide not to bother. In either case, we might expect the correspondence between the preferences expressed in Pāṇini's optional rules and the practice of authors to be relatively small at the periphery of the grammatical system.

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[1] This is not quite true of Patañjali, still less of Kātyāyana. But in view of the problems of separating statements based on knowledge of grammar from natural linguistic intuitions even in these grammarians' discussions of what is correct Sanskrit, I have preferred not for exploiting such evidence as they may offer.

In the more central regularities of the grammar, where even a few pages of text provide many examples, there is obviously much less practical need for the rules. For a somewhat different reason, this holds also for the vocabulary : words, even rare ones, are normally picked up from usage and not from word formation rules. Here we may expect to find, and indeed do find, discrepancies of different kind between the rules and usage : cases where the tradition is so powerful that it overrides the rules of the Pāṇinian system. For example, Pāṇini (8.4.56 *vā'vasāne*) allows an option between voiced and voiceless obstruents before pause : *vāg* or preferably *(vā) vāk*. But the literature nowhere shows any sign of this option. Final obstruents are *always* voiceless in practice. The option allowed by Pāṇini is ignored, like traffic signs at rush hour.

But in so far as usage is based on tradition, it is also bound to change in the course of time. The very same mode of transmission which gives language its overall stability also causes it to be modified in each successive generation. Because the system must be reconstituted from its output by each new member of the linguistic community, its perfect replication over and over again is impossible. And of all aspects of language, the patterns of variation and preference among optional processes are the most prone to change. The reasons for their special instability are in part the same as the reasons for our own difficulties in establishing them from the corpus of Sanskrit literature : the amount of data required to establish a pattern of *preference* is much greater than the amount of data required to establish the *existence* of a rule. In the ordinary language situation, it does not take many generations before the patterns change completely, marginal variants becoming preferred, optional rules becoming obligatory, and vice versa. Change is not nearly so rapid in a literary language. A literary language is learned not only from the living, but also from the dead : from all preceding generations that have contributed the literature which is still current. This gives the patterns of variation and preference among optional rules a greater longevity than they otherwise could have. Still, even in a literary language they cannot be retained forever. We will see that there is a steady drift away from the linguistic stage analyzed by Pāṇini, so that we will have to distinguish between earlier and later stages of Classical Sanskrit.

Unfortunately, not much has survived of the literature written in Pāṇini's time and shortly after it. The *Sūtra* literature is generally considered to be roughly contemporary with the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, but because of its limited content and elliptic " nominal " style, it does not provide a complete record of the language. Somewhat arbitrarily, I will refer to works believed to have been written before ca. 500 A. D. as belonging to the " early " Classical Sanskrit literature. Besides the *Sūtras*, this category includes the *Smṛti* works (e.g. Manu), the early *Purāṇas*, some texts in Philosophy, Astronomy, Medicine and other sciences, including of course Grammar itself (Kātyāyana, Patañjali), and Kālidāsa and a number of other poets and dramatists.

The Epics will have to stand for our purposes outside this division between early and late Classical literature, for they evidently include, in their present form, elements from several periods of the language. As I am completely unfamiliar with the state of the art in sorting out these linguistic layers, I have not based any *chronological* conclusions on facts about Epic usage. Another problem for dating usage is the archaizing tendency of such relatively late compositions as the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. In practice, the uncertainties arising from such factors will be among the least of our problems.

Much worse is the fact that, for various reasons, several areas of the grammar cannot be checked against Classical Sanskrit usage, or can only be checked in a fragmentary way. We are quite helpless as regards the accent rules, which Pāṇini provides in great detail. Though Vedic peculiarities of accent are often noted when they deviate from the Classical language, it is quite clear that Pāṇini's description primarily applies to the speech of his own time, a stage of Classical Sanskrit from which no accented texts whatsoever have been preserved. The accent system at that point was so changed even with respect to the *obligatory* rules that there is only a limited usefulness in comparing Pāṇini's optional accent rules with the much earlier Vedic usage to which we have access.[2]

Secondly, the external *sandhi* of Classical Sanskrit manuscripts obviously has no claim to represent the author's original text, but has been modified freely by copyists. The manuscript usage with respect to external *sandhi* rules can therefore be used as testimony for only the latest stages of Classical Sanskrit. However, it will be interesting to compare Pāṇini's preferences with those of the *Prātiśākhyas*, which represent in part the result of observations on Vedic usage, but also in part guidelines used in editing the Vedic texts and establishing the *Padapāṭha* – guidelines which are ultimately reflections of post-Vedic linguistic preferences.

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[2] Compare e.g. 6.2.50 *tādau ca niti kṛty atau* with the Vedic data in W. 2.1, 218.

A third area where my comparison will show large gaps is Syntax. There are two reasons for this. First, statistical information about the relative preference among syntactic options in Sanskrit is not readily available. For word formation and morphology, the required facts can often be put together by the simple though tedious procedure of counting the relevant citations in a comprehensive dictionary. That is rarely possible when we have a syntactic option to contend with, unless the option happens to involve one particular word or a small class of words.[3] A second problem with syntactic rules is that their environment often includes semantic or pragmatic conditions which are " in the mind " of the speaker, and which therefore often require interpretation of the context if they are to be properly understood. Even then there is usually room for alternative interpretations.[4] Here is where we can least afford to replace the intuitions of native speakers with even large amounts of texts.

For data on Sanskrit usage I have depended as far as possible on existing monographs and articles on particular topics, and on grammars, dictionaries, and word indices. Only here and there have I added some examples I have come across in what little reading I have done. Among the grammars, Renou (1961), Whitney, and Wackernagel (-Debrunner) (abbreviated as W) have proved most useful. I was lucky to have access to the vast files of the Deccan College dictionary project (DC). Unfortunately, at the time most of my work was being done, the material had been consolidated in alphabetical order only up to *kh* (a few more letters were completed later, in time to be utilized in part). The rest was filed in 17 separate sections according to groups of Śāstras and literary genres, and I was only occasionally able to exploit it. For this part I generally relied on the Böhtlingk–Roth (BR) and Monier Williams (MW) dictionaries. The former was generally more useful because it gives actual citations, so that morphology could also be checked, and a clear idea of relative frequency could be obtained for the more common part of the vocabulary. Monier Williams has some vocabulary that is not in BR. Apte's dictionary (A) was also sometimes consulted. But huge as these dictionaries are, they are completely dwarfed, in the Classical Sanskrit domain at least, by the Deccan College dictionary. Even so, for a large number of rules where it could not be consulted, enough information could be obtained from the others to settle the Classical preference. Whitney's *Roots* has also been handy but is similarly weak on the Classical Sanskrit side. Finally, the *Vedāṅga* volumes of Vishva Bandhu's *Vedic Word-Concordance (VWC)*, containing mainly the *Sūtra* literature, have been a great help in making more complete inventories for some points of usage in a period close to Pāṇini's own.

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[3] Cf. 2.3.17 and 3.3.5 below.

[4] For example, consider 3.3.143 *vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca*, which allows for an option between *laṭ* (present tense) and *liṅ* (optative) with *katham* ' how ' in a derogatory sense (142 *garhāyām*). It is not always going to be clear when a derogatory sense is intended.

I have attempted to compare each Pāṇinian rule that falls under *vā* or *vibhāṣā* with literary evidence. In each case I have searched through the material until either a clear enough picture of the linguistic situation emerged, or a resonable amount of effort failed to turn up any more facts. Quite a few of the rules relate to important grammatical phenomena which remain insufficiently studied, at least in Classical Sanskrit, and which deserve separate monographic treatment. I could not attempt anything so ambitious here, and have been satisfied whenever I could identify the main tendencies of usage relative to a Pāṇinian rule. Unfortunately even this was often impossible. I have included below all rules on which I have found anything worth reporting at all. Where I have found nothing, I have simply omitted the rule from the discussion below, unless it occasions some other comment relevant to our topic. Also, I have not thought it worthwhile to go through once more each of the word-formation rules falling under such major *adhikāras* as 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* or 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā,* as was done in Ch. 2. The results here would so obviously conform to our prediction as to make a case by case demonstration superfluous.

For purposes of further testing our interpretation of *vā* and *vibhāṣā,* it would of course be best if each rule could be checked against the usage in roughly contemporaneous literature, such as the *Sūtras* and *Upaniṣads.* But, for the obvious reasons mentioned earlier, we will usually not be so lucky as to find the relevant usage attested in those works. We can then go further afield and look forward at the Classical literature, or backward at the Vedas and *Brāhmaṇas.* That puts another variable into our calculations : that of linguistic change. It is not enough to simply note the agreement or disagreement between Pāṇini and the usage of another stage of Sanskrit. The relation must be historically interpreted, and it must be shown that the Pāṇinian preferences can be integrated into what we know of the development of the language : that they are located at the appropriate points in the reconstructed trajectories of change from Vedic to Classical Sanskrit.

The import of this part of our investigation goes well beyond the evidence it provides for the interpretation of Pāṇini. For if our hypothesis is in general sustained — and we will see that it is — we can then invert the equation: taking the interpretation of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* as a given, we can turn it back on the Sanskrit language and literature in order to illuminate the hitherto dark corners of their history. There are two questions above all which are of central interest in this respect.

The first is a very specific and narrow problem : the date of Pāṇini. The most commonly cited estimates are 500 B.C. and 350 B.C. On the basis of our findings, we should be able to attack the problem by pinpointing that period in which the literature is closest to the language described by Pāṇini. This is of course the standard approach followed earlier by Liebich and others. But by basing the inquiry on the *optional* rules in the more precise interpretation which we can now put on them, we secure some further advantages. The problem of distinguishing genuine Pāṇinian language from language artificially following his rules now disappears, for since the meaning of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* was not understood after Pāṇini, agreement with his preferences must reflect a genuine commonality of dialect. This is a minor benefit because in the literature which might come seriously into question as being contemporary with Pāṇini there are hardly any signs of puristic tendencies anyway. More important is the following fact : the preferences among optional rules are a vastly more changeable kind of linguistic datum than is the applicability of obligatory rules, and they therefore can give correspondingly more precise clues to dating.

The second problem on which we can hope to cast new light is that of sorting out the respective roles of literary-linguistic tradition and of Pāṇinian grammar in influencing the usage of authors. In short : how artificial is Sanskrit ? Whitney (1889, Preface) commented on the " unknown limits of artificiality " of literary Sanskrit, and it is fair to say that the limits are still not precisely known. I have already mentioned the basis on which this issue can be tackled through the optional rules : the two extreme cases would be an author who follows Pāṇini's preferences in every respect, and an author who chooses the options randomly. We can be certain that the first is following a true tradition of usage, and the second is only following the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as he understands it.

In reality, of course, the situation will be rather more complex, and most authors fall somewhere between these extremes. But the point at which they fall on this continuum will, I think, be found a reliable index of their artificiality. I would be very much surprised if the proportion of Pāṇinian *vibhāṣā* forms were not considerably larger, say, in the *Śiśupālavadha* than in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, and conversely for *vā* forms—though I would expect both works to show *some* overall tendency to prefer *vā* forms, and avoid *vibhāṣā* forms, unlike such totally artificial compositions as the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, *Rāvaṇārjunīya* or *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, where the options will probably be found to be distributed nearly at random.

There is another complicating factor which it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration when relating the rules to the usage. This is that the course of linguistic development may be such as to carry away natural usage from the preference expressed by Pāṇini. Thus, if some exception is preferred to a regularized form by Pāṇini, it would not be surprising to see later authors shifting in favour of the latter. By the same token, Pāṇini's preference can be as it where independently recreated under certain circumstances even by authors who are following his rules rather than genuine tradition of usage. If an exception is given marginal status by Pāṇini relative to an alternative regularized form, later authors who simply know Pāṇini's optional rule may also for convenience' sake prefer to use the regularized form, without knowing either that traditional usage prefers it or that Pāṇini recommends it. These considerations do not weaken the case for my interpretation of the terms for "optionally" — on the contrary, in the former type of situation (*vā* exceptions) they strengthen it by helping to explain some instances where later authors disagree with Pāṇini's preference. But because the second type of situation (*vibhāṣā* exceptions) is very common, the overall effect is probably to make the continuity of usage seem greater than it in reality is.

(1)	1.1.27	*sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*	
	1.1.28	*vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau*	
	1.1.29	*na bahuvrīhau*	[27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*]
	1.1.30	*tṛtīyāsamāse* [29 *na*]	
	1.1.31	*dvandve ca* [29 *na*]	
	1.1.32	*vibhāṣā jasi* [31 *dvandve*]	
	1.1.33	*prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca* [32 *vibhāṣā jasi*]	
	1.1.34	*pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṁjñāyām*	[27 *sarvanāmāni*]
	1.1.35	*svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām*	
	1.1.36	*antaraṁ bahiryogopasaṁvyānayoḥ*	

(27) *sarva* etc. are *sarvanāmans* (pronouns).

The following five rules (28–32) restrict this general rule :

(28) marginally in *bahuvrīhi* compounds denoting directions

(29) not in (other) *bahuvrīhi* compounds

(30) not in instrumental compounds

(31) and not in *dvandva* compounds

(32) marginally before nom. pl. *Jas* (in *dvandva* compounds).

The next rule extends the designation in a limited environment to certain quantifier words which are not in the class " *sarva* etc. "

(33) and (marginally before nom. pl. *Jas*) in *prathama* ' first ', *carama* ' last ', (words ending in) *taya* (i.e. ordinals), *alpa* ' few ', *ardha* ' half ', *katipaya* ' some ', *nema* ' other '.

The following three rules (34–36) restrict the pronominal status of some members of the class ' *sarva* etc. ' to certain meanings :

(34) *pūrva* ' first ', ' eastern ', *para* ' next, last ', *avara* ' lower ', *dakṣiṇa* ' right, southern ', *uttara* ' upper, left, northern ', *apara* ' latter, other, lower, western ', *adhara* ' lower ', when denoting fixed (relations), but not in idiomatic meanings (are pronouns).

(35) *sva* ' own ', except when denoting a relative or property (are pronouns).

(36) *antara* ' inner ' when used with *bahiḥ* ' outside ' and when denoting an undergarment (are pronouns).

These rules have been analyzed in an exemplary way by Bloomfield (1927). His interpretation, which I have followed in the above translation, differs in two respects from the traditional one. First, he takes the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā jasi* (32) no further than the next rule, whereas the tradition continues it all the way to 36. Bloomfield correctly notes that *ca* in 33 signals the *nivṛtti* (discontinuation) of *vibhāṣā jasi*. He also points out the historical implausibility of assuming, with the tradition, that the nominative plural, which is usually the *first* point of entry for pronominal inflection into a nominally inflected paradigm, in other Indo-European languages as well as in Sanskrit (as indeed rules 32–33 illustrate), should in the case of *pūrva* etc. (34–36) be the *last* case to maintain nominal inflection in what are otherwise almost fully pronominalized paradigms.[5] The second way in which Bloomfield corrects the tradition is to remove the words of (34–36) from the *gaṇa* " *sarva* etc. ", where they now stand, with their meanings, duplicating completely the three rules of the grammar. He argues quite convincingly that these words were not in the original *gaṇa*. They were copied from the rules into the *gaṇa*, where they were first put at the end, as usual with such additions. Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's discussions show that they were still read there in their time. But this resulted in a difficulty : the sub-class " *dvi* etc. " which is mentioned in 5.3.2 *kiṁsarvanāmabahubhyo 'dvyādibhyaḥ* as not taking the *vibhakti* suffixes *tasIL*, *traL* etc. characteristic of most pronouns, now came to include *pūrva* etc , which wrongly prohibited ordinary forms like *pūrvatra* from being derived. To avoid this undesired consequence, they were still later shifted inside the *gaṇa*, where they stand in the present text.

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[5] I say *almost* fully pronominalized because rule 7.1.16 *pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā* allows marginal nominal inflection for *pūrva* etc. in the ablative and locative singular of the masculine (see Ch. 2), and 5.3.34 *uttarādharadakṣiṇād ātiḥ* gives *uttara*, *adhara*, *dakṣiṇa* a special ending *ātI* in the locative, ablative, and nominative, when they denote direction, space, or time. Though this is analyzed by Pāṇini as a *taddhita* suffix of the *vibhakti* class, it is historically nothing but the ablative singular ending *āt* of the *a*–stem nouns.

What Bloomfield does not explain is why it was necessary to bring *pūrva* etc. into the *Gaṇapāṭha* in the first place, in view of the duplication and other difficulties which this move results in. The later changes which have been made in the Pāṇinian system are often ill-considered, but they are never entirely without purpose. The answer is, I think, that there is a genuine inadequacy in the original formulation of Pāṇini which was remedied by this change: namely, if the words *pūrva*, *uttara*, *dakṣina*, etc. are *not* included in the class " *sarva* etc. ", then rules 28–32, which apply to the class " *sarva* etc. ", will not cover *pūrva* and its fellows, which will have the unfortunate consequences that *bahuvrīhi* compounds like *dakṣiṇapūrva* ' southeast ' cannot be optionally declined as nouns by 28, that *dvandva* compounds like *dakṣiṇottara* ' south and north ' cannot be obligatorily nouns by 31, and so on.

At any rate, for our purpose the essential point is the optional rules in this sequence are 28, 32, and 33, and not 34–36.

Rule 28 says that compounds denoting directions, such as *dakṣiṇapūrva* ' southeast ', which are analyzed as *bahuvrīhis* in Pāṇini's system (by 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*), are marginally pronouns, e.g. (loc. sg. masc.) *dakṣinapūrvasmin* or (preferably) *dakṣinapūrve* ' in or to the southeast '. With regard to the declension of these compounds, Wackernagel (3, 593) observes that in the *Sūtras*, the pronominal type of inflection is found nowhere except in the feminine gender (e.g. loc. sg. *dakṣiṇapūrvasyām*), and that the nominal type of inflection is *always* used in the locative singular of masculine and neuter stems (e.g. *dakṣinpūrve*). Though the role of gender is not expressed in Pāṇini's rule, these facts would justify his designation of the pronominal status as the marginal option. Wackernagel's observation appears to hold true in the older *Sūtra* literature; I have noticed exceptions only in the late *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra : pūrvadakṣiṇasmin* (' SE ') *yajamāno 'parottarasminn* (' NW') *adhvaryuḥ . . . yajamāno 'paradakṣiṇasmin* (' SW ') *pūrvottarasminn* (' NE') *adhvaryuḥ* (14.8) corresponding in the earlier *Śrautasūtras* to such passages as *pūrvadakṣiṇe* (' SE ') *'dhvaryur aparottare* (' NW ') *yajamānaḥ. . punar dakṣiṇāpare* (' SW ') *'dhvaryuḥ pūrvottare* (' NE ') *yajamānaḥ* (*Kāty. Śr. S.* 8.5.14).

Rule 32 says that *sarva* etc. in *dvandva* compounds, which according to the preceding rule are not pronouns, can nevertheless marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be pronouns in the nominative plural (the masculine being the only gender in which this makes any difference), viz. *katarakatame* or (preferably) *katarakatamāḥ* ' which of the two and which of the many ? ' (Note that we do not read *na* from 29 into this rule, as it is stopped by *ca* in 31.) According to Wackernagel (3, 593–4) *dvandva* compounds of pronouns are only found in the later, Classical language, and he does not cite any examples of them. However, we have *dakṣinottarāḥ* ' southern and northern ' with noun inflection, in *Kāty. Sr. S.* 12.1.15, 17.1.8, 17.1.23. Cf. also *(rekhāḥ) uttaradakṣiṇāḥ* ' the northern and southern lines (meridians) ' (*Bṛhadbrahmasaṁhitā* 4.3.61 B) and *uttaradakṣiṇāḥ pañcālakāḥ* ' the northern and the southern Pañcālas ' *(Yogavāsiṣṭha)* 3.37.7 (B). I assume that *asaṁjñāyām* in 34 does not mean " not referring to names ", as the tradition has it, but " not in idiomatic meanings " (Palsule 1966). The 9th c. Jain *Mahāpurāṇa* has *katarakatame*, probably picked up from the grammarians. Such examples as do occur, then, tend to show the noun inflection, which is also what Pāṇini prefers in his rule. Note that we are not entitled to cite, in support of the preference for nominal nom. pl. forms of such *dvandvas*, the formulation of the very next rule, viz. *..,nemāś ca*, not **...neme ca*, for pronouns mentioned in Pāṇini's rules are inflected as nouns anyway. Cf. Ch. 2, p. 26.

The third optional rule in this group (33) extends the same option to the nominative plural of the words *prathama* etc., e.g. *prathame* or (preferably) *prathamāḥ*. The group of words *prathama, carama, -taya, alpa, ardha, katipaya, nema* comprises quantifiers as opposed to the group *pūrva* etc. (rules 34–36), which comprises relational terms. Most of the quantifiers had exclusively *nominal* inflection in early Vedic (cf. W. 3, 586 on *prathama*, which has only nominal forms in the *Ṛgveda*, and 3.588. on the others). The word *nema*, however, which largely disappeared in Classical Sanskrit and was in general use only in Vedic, tended to have nom. pl. *neme* there (3 x *RV.*, also *MS.* 1.1.9, vs. *nemāḥ MS.* 2.3.3, cf. W.3, 577). There is the special difficulty with this word that it is listed in the *gaṇa* in addition to being named in 33. Traditionally, this is taken to mean that *nema* is a pronoun except for being optionally a noun before in the nominative plural. This would fail to account for a form like gen. pl. *nemānām* (*RV.* 6.16.8). Bloomfield suggests that it does not belong in the *gaṇa*, which in turn runs counter to *nemasmin* (*RV.* 10.48.10). Wackernagel proposes that it should rather be deleted in the rule (33), but this will not take care of either *nemānām* or *nemāḥ*. With the sparse data at our disposal it may be impossible to settle the issue for sure.

Coming now to our rule, the preference in Sanskrit for the nominal form of the nom. pl. is clearest in the most common of these words: *prathamāḥ* is preferred over *prathame* at least up to and including the *Sūtra* literature. The same is true for *dvaya* and *traya*. *Alpa*, though not frequent in these forms, also prefers *-āḥ* to *-e*. On the other hand, *katipaya* generally has nom. pl. *-e*, though I could not find any relevant early examples. It seems that in this word, the shift to pronominal inflection of the nominative plural had gone almost to completion in Classical Sanskrit.

Dvaya and *traya* are covered by the mention of the suffix *taya* in this rule, because their suffix *aya* is a replacement of *taya* by 5.2.43 *dvitribhyāṁ tayasyāyaj vā*. The *paribhāṣā* rule 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhau* retains for a substitute the non-phonological properties of the form it replaces, so that the designation "pronoun", in particular, will be maintained even by the derived forms. This is all right for *dvaya*, *traya*, but leads to trouble, from the Classical Sanskrit point of view, in the word *ubhaya* 'both', as noted by Kātyāyana in *Vt.* 18 on 1.1.56. *Ubhaya* (almost always plural) is indeed only declined as a pronoun in the Classical language. Yet Pāṇini derives it from *ubha* + *taya* by 5.2.44 *ubhād udātto 'nityam*, and so it should also be optionally a noun before nom. pl. *Jas* by 1.1.33. The derivation from *taya* is also necessary to allow the fem. form *ubhayī* to be derived by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnajmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ*. It is possible that Pāṇini forgot about the nominative plural here. However, I rather think that he intended nom. pl. *ubhayāḥ* to be derivable in his grammar. The form occurs in the *Ṛgveda* (seven times, of which six have the augmen *asUK*, viz. *ubhayāsaḥ*), along with *ubhaye* (6x). Thus, it may have still been current in Pāṇini's time, although it is hard to believe that it was still the *favoured* form.

In broad outline, the development of the pronominal adjectives in the early stages of Sanskrit can be pictured as follows. All items in rules 33–36 were until a period not long before the composition of the *Ṛgveda* inflected like ordinary adjectives. They began to acquire pronominal forms in two waves. The first wave, which affected the relational terms of rules 34–36, has started already in the language of the *Ṛgveda*. It has carried some of the words further, such as *pūrva*, *uttara*, and *apara*, and barely touched others, such as *sva*, but all these words show a variation between the two types of inflection in so far as they are sufficiently attested there at all. In Pāṇini's language, their shifts into the pronominal declension is complete, except for the adverbial case forms mentioned in fn. 5. The second wave then takes the quantifiers of rule 33 in the same direction. It comes after the early Vedic period : all the words *prathama* etc. (with the exception of *nema*) still strictly adhere to nominal inflection in the *Ṛgveda*, in so far as they occur there. In Pāṇini, the development has progressed to a stage where the nominative plural may be pronominal, and that is already the favoured option there.

(**2**) 1.2.13 *vā gamaḥ* [11 *liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu*] [9 *jhal*] [5 *kit*]

A consonantal precative or aorist ending in the middle voice preferably (*vā*) gets the diacritic *K* after the root *gam* 'go'. The effect of the diacritic *K* is deletion of the root–final *m* by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanoṭyādīnāṁ anunāsikalopo jhali kṅiti*, e.g. 1. pl. *agasmahi* or (marginally) *agaṁsmahi*. In the earlier language, the *K* forms are predominant : 2. sg. *agathās* (*VS.*), 3.sg. *agata* (*AV.*), 1. pl. *agasmahi* (*ṚV*. 2x, *TS.*, *ĀŚS.*), 2.du. (inj.) *gasāthām* (*TĀ.*). It is doubtful whether there are any non-*K* *s*-aorists at all attested until after the *Sūtra* period. BR read *agaṁsmahi* in *LŚS*. 2.12.13, but the editions here have *aganmahi*. The 1st. pr. sg. *agaṁsi* cited by Whitney as occuring in *Sūtra* literature, does not appear to be found there, but only in the later Classical literature (Narten 1964, p. 106).

After the *Sūtra* period, this irregular *s*-aorist of *gam* begins to disappear, and the aorist is regularised in accord with other roots in *-m*, so that the normal paradigm becomes *agaṁsi*, *agaṁsthāḥ*, *agaṁsta*, *agaṁsmahi* etc. (cf. *ayaṁsi*, *akraṁsi*, etc.). Pāṇini's preference thus agrees with the Vedic and *Sūtra* language, but Classical Sanskrit begins to diverge from it.

(**3**) 1.2.16 *vibhāṣopayamane* [15 *yamaḥ*] [14 *sic*] [11 *ātmanepadeṣu*] [5 *kit*]

The root *yam* can marginally have the diacritic *K* in the *s*-aorist middle when it means 'marry', e.g. 3 s.g. *upāyata* or (preferably) *upāyaṁsta*. The form is not attested in literature before the 7th century A.D. For some reason, most of the attestations are in medieval Jain narratives. The DC material has eight non-*K* forms (always 3. sg. *upāyaṁsta*) and seven *K* forms (*upāyata, upāyathāḥ*). It is doubtful whether their is a genuine tradition of usage that links Pāṇini's period to the later language in respect of this morphological detail. The normal pattern for a root in *-am* would be the strong root form in the aorist middle (*upāyaṁsta*), cf. above on 1.2.13. The fact that *upāyata* occurs at this late stage of Sanskrit may be due to nothing more than the grammatical learning of the authors. This is especially likely in view of the fact that several occurrences of *upāyata* are in texts which also have the other form : *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita* 1.1.244 *upāyata*, 1.1.597 *upāyaṁsta*, *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* 8.201 *upāyata*, 7.25 *upāyaṁsta* — both of them being by Hemacandra, the author of the *Haima-śabdānuśāsana*. Both forms also occur in the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, a highly artificial composition which cannot be counted as a source of independent testimony for usage.

(**4**) 1.2.23 *nopadhāt thaphāntād vā*
1.2.24 *vañciluñcyṛtaś ca* [23 *vā*]
1.2.25 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛśeḥ kāśyapasya* [23 *vā*]
1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād dhalādeḥ saṁś ca* [23 *vā*]

[22 *ktvā*]
[18 *seṭ*]
[5 *kit*]

The gerund suffix *Ktvā* has a diacritic *K* in its basic form, which causes it to take the weak forms of the root. Rule 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* overrides this marking when the suffix has the augment *iṬ*, e.g. *vartitvā* ' having turned ' but *kṛtvā* ' having done '. The present group of rules in turn makes *K* a preferred option even in the presence of *iṬ* in certain cases. The first three rules are rather restricted in scope. Rule 23 applies to roots ending in *-nth, -nph* (> *-mph*). Pāṇini's preference for *K* in these cases agrees with the preference in Classical Sanskrit for *mathitvā* ' having churned ', *grathitvā* ' having tied ', rather than *manthitvā, granthitvā* (DC). (I cannot find examples involving the third relevant root, *gumph* ' twine '.) Rule 24 applies to *vañc* ' move crookedly ', *luñc* ' pull out ', *ṛt* ' pursue '. Here we have both *luñcitvā* (*Pañc.* p. 139) and *lucitvā* (*Vāsudeva-vijaya* 1.21). Rule 25 reports that Kāśyapa prefers (or requires obligatorily ?) the weak grade in *Ktvā-* gerunds of *tṛṣ* ' be thirsty ', *mṛṣ* ' disregard ', *kṛś* ' be lean '. I was unable to find any relevant forms.

Rule 25 is of more general applicability. After roots beginning with a consonant and ending with a consonant other than a glide *(y, v, h)* both *Ktvā* and the desiderative suffix *saN* are preferably *Kit*. In fact, usage here tends to favour the weak forms, viz. *militvā* 'having met', *likhitvā* 'having written', *sphuṭitvā* 'having burst', vs. *śocitvā* 'having mourned', *siñcitvā* 'having sprinkled', and for the desideratives, *rurucisati* 'wants to please', *tiṣṭighiṣati* 'wants to stride', *jugupiṣati* 'wants to protect', vs. *śuśobhiṣati* 'wants to adorn'. The tendency of Classical Sanskrit, then agrees with that of Pāṇini.

(5) 1.3.43 *anupasargād vā* [39 *kramaḥ*] [12 *ātmanepadam*]

The root *kram* 'stride' is preferably *(vā)* inflected in the middle voice when not preceded by a preverb, i.e. *kramate* or (less preferably) *krāmati*.[6] In all meanings, *kramate* is over twice as frequent as *krāmati* in Classical Sanskrit (DC). Pāṇini's preference for the middle in this verb is thus continued in the later language.

(6) 1.3.85 *vibhāṣā'karmakāt* [84 *upāt*] [83 *ramaḥ*] [78 *parasmaipadam*]

The root *ram* is marginally active after the prefix *upa* when used intransitively, viz. *uparamati* or (preferably) *uparamate* 'ceases'. In Classical Sanskrit, the middle is more frequent, in accord with Pāṇini's rule (DC).

(7) 1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*
1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi* [90 *vā*]
1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ* [90 *vā*]
1.3.93 *luṭi ca kḷpaḥ* [92 *syasanoḥ*] [90 *vā*]
[78 *parasmaipadeṣu*]

These four rules introduce the active endings as a preferred alternative *(vā)* to the middle endings.

The first rule (90) applies to verbs formed with the suffix *KyaṢ*. This covers two cases:

(*a*) denominative verbs from the class "*lohita* 'red' etc.", e.g. *lohitāyati, -te* 'becomes red', and

(*b*) onomatopoetic verbs from stems ending in the suffix *ḌāC (= ā́)*, e.g. *simasimāyati, -te* 'bubbles, simmers'.

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[6] In certain special meanings, the middle is obligatory by 1.3.38 *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ*. The lengthening of the root in the active is by 7.3.76 *kramaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*.

The Sanskrit facts are different in cases (*a*) and (*b*). The verb *lohitāyati*, *-te* referred to in Pāṇini's rule is in practice usually active (*Jaiminīyopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* 18.430, *Kumārasaṁbhava* 8.28, *Kirātārjunīya* 9.4, *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* 4.5, *Mbh.* 1.17. 15–16, 5.82.20, 6.70.31, 6.75.1, 7.120.43, *Matsyapurāṇa* 251.21). It is common as a participle in locative absolute constructions of the type *āditye lohitāyati*. The middle seems to occur only in the more artificial *Kāvya* style — often varying with the active, a likely sign of conscious playing with the Pāṇinian option : *Nalacampū* 2.30 (22) (act.), 3.21 (28) (mid.), *Harṣacarita* 234.9 (act.), 255.17 (mid.), *Kādambarī* 15.14 (act.), 112.16, 132.21 (mid.), *Avantisundarī* 74.20 (act.), 71.9 (mid.), The other stems intended by Pāṇini to be included in the class " *lohita* etc. " are unfortunately not known with any certainty. The *Gaṇapāṭha* does contain a list corresponding to this rule (designated as an *ākṛtigaṇa*, a list which merely illustrates the type of item involved, and is not intended to be complete). But even this list is probably of late origin, for Kātyāyana appears to have had no knowledge of it. In his *Vt.* 1 on 3.1.13 *lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ*, (the rule which introduces *KyaṢ*) he proposes to reword that rule to " *lohitaḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ* ", eliminating the " etc. " and making *lohita* the only stem (other than those in *ḌāC*) subject to the rule. The other verbs of this type, he maintains, have obligatory middle endings and are formed by 3.1.12 *bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acver lopaś ca halaḥ*, from stems in the class " *bhṛśa* etc. ".

The problem of the authenticity of the *gaṇas*, especially the *ākṛtigaṇas*, is one which will recur as we proceed. There is a legitimate suspicion that they are not Pāṇini's own compilations, but that he left them to the lexicographers, just as he did with unpredictable lexical gender. (The similar practice prevalent in structural and transformational grammar-writing is a modern parallel which may help to make this suggestion credible.) In view of this possibility, it has seemed best to adopt the following two-stage research strategy :

(1) In order to compare Pāṇini's optional rules with actual Sanskrit usage, we will take only the actual word or words named in the rule (e.g. *lohita* in the present case). That will rule out the danger of errors due to *gaṇas* which may have been added wholly or in part *after* the meaning of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* was forgotten.

(2) In order to test the authenticity of the *gaṇas* we may then compare the treatment of the words in the *gaṇas* with the treatment of the words specifically named in Pāṇini's rules, with respect to the optional processes. If we find that they are treated in the *same* way, this will show that the *gaṇas* were made up by Pāṇini himself, or at least by someone who still knew the distinction between the three words for " optional ". If, on the other hand, we find that the words in the *gaṇas* are treated in literature *less* consistently in accord with the preferences expressed by Pāṇini than the words named in the rules, then the authenticity of the *gaṇas* becomes open to doubt. If we find that the words in the *gaṇas* are treated in entirely random fashion, while those in the rules are treated consistently, then the post-Pāṇinian status of the *gaṇas* becomes a near certainty.

Returning now to 1.3.90, the suffix *KyaṢ* also appears in onomatopoetic verbs like *simasimāyati*/*-te*. In these verbs, Classical Sanskrit usage favours the middle endings, e.g. *simasimāyate* (*Vās.*, *Mārk. P.*), *simasimāyate* 'quivers' (*Kathās.*), *khalakhalāyate* (*Cāṇ.*) 'splashes', *ghumaghumāyate* (*Kir.*), 'hums', *ghuraghurāyate* (*Car.*, *Suśr.*, *Kād.*, *Bh. P.*) 'gurgles', *caṭacaṭāyate* (*Suśr.*, *Bhoj.*) 'crackles', *jhagajhagāyate* (*DevīP.*) 'flashes', *jhaṇajhaṇāyate* (*Mālatīm.*, *Kād*, *Hcar.*) 'tinkles', *śiriśirāyate* (*Āp. ŚS.*) 'hisses' (W 2.1,8 and Renou 1961, 487). It would appear, then that the two cases mentioned in this rule tend in different directions.

The next rule, 1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi*, refers to a class of verbs " *dyut* etc. " (roots 1.777–799 in the *Dhātupāṭha* as given in Böhtlingk's edition). By 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, these verbs obligatorily get the aorist suffix *aṄ* (= *a* with weak grade of the root) before active person endings. In the aorist middle, they get the suffix *sIC* by the general rule 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*. The effect of all this is that we get a characteristic alternation in these verbs between active thematic aorist and middle sigmatic aorist, with the active being, by virtue of the *vā* carried down into 1.3.91, the preferred varient, e.g. *adyutat* and (less preferably) *adyotiṣṭa* 'shone'.

Of the verbs in this class, the following have the active *a*-aorist as the more common or only form : *dyut* 'shine', *dhvaṁs* 'scatter', *bhraṁś* 'fall', *vṛt* 'turn', *vṛdh* 'grow', *sraṁs* 'fall'. Although aorists of *dyut* 'shine' are not attested, this root can probably be included here, since it is a phonetic varient of *dyut*, which definitely belongs in the list. The verb *ruc* 'shine' has the middle *iṣ*-aorist (i.e. *sIC* with the augment *iT*) as the more common form. For the other verbs which come under this rule, no relevant forms are attested (data from Narten 1964 and Whitney's *Roots*). The active endings, then, are on the whole favoured for these verbs in literature, in agreement with Pāṇini's preference.

Rule 1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ* provides for active endings in preference to middle endings after *sya* (the suffix of the first future and conditional, by 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*) and *saN* (the desiderative suffix, by 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā*), in the five roots *vṛt* 'turn', *vṛdh* 'grow', *śṛdh* 'defy', *syand* 'flow', *kṛp (= kḷp)* 'arrange'. Of these roots, *vṛdh* and *syand* are predominantly active in the future tense, while *kṛp (kḷp)* is predominantly middle, and *vṛt* is common in both voices. I cannot find data for the conditional, or for the second future of *kṛp (kḷp)*, where rule 93 introduces the same option. The root *śṛdh* is also apparently not attested in the relevant forms.

The sum up, the evidence concerning Sanskrit usage is equivocal in the case of rules 90, 92, 93, but definitely agrees with the Pāṇinian preference in the case of rule 91.

(8) 1.4.5 *vā'mi* [4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī*] [3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*]

1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca* [4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī*] [3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*]

For the analysis of these rules, see Ch. 2. Renou comments on the relative frequency of the variants allowed for the *gati* type by rule 1.4.6 : " In classical Sanskrit, the new endings *-yai -yāḥ -yām* (and even more so *-vai -vāḥ -vām*) remain especially in the dative less favoured than *-aye*, *-eḥ*, *-au*, at least in nouns. "[7] As for the marginal gen. pl. *-nām* allowed by 1.4.5, it seems to occur up to the beginning of the Classical period only in the one word *dhīnām* (already *RV*), cf. Renou 1960, 325. For this important class of morphological variants, then, Pāṇini's preferences are in complete accord with the preferences of Classical Sanskrit usage.

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[7] " *-yai -yāḥ -yām* (et plus encore *-vai -vāḥ -vām*) demeurent cl., surtout au dat., moins en faveur que *-aye -eḥ -au*, au moins dans les substantifs. " (1960, 352).

(9) 1.4.72 *vibhaṣā kṛñi* [71 *tiro 'ntardhau*] [60 *gatiḥ*]

The word *tiras* is marginally (*vibhāṣā*) a *gati* when connected with *kṛÑ* 'do' in the sense of "concealment". As a *gati*, *tiras* will be compounded with non-finite verb forms.[8] As a non-*gati*, it will not be compounded. This in turn will determine the form of the gerund ending : *ya* in the compound, and *tvā* in the simple verb.[9] Thus, when *tiras* is a *gati*, and therefore compounded, we get *tiraskṛtya*, (or *tiraḥkṛtya*, cf. 8.3.42 *tiraso 'nyatarasyām*). Otherwise we get *tiraḥ kṛtvā*.

In literature, *tiraskṛtya* appears to be more common, against Pāṇini's preference (e.g. *Kāty. ŚS*, *Baudh. ŚS.*, *Mn.* 4.49).

(10) 1.4.98 *vibhāṣā kṛñi* [97 *adhir īśvare*] [83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*]

Adhi is marginally (*vibhāṣā*) a *karmapravacanīya* in connection with the root *kṛÑ* 'make, do' in the sense "governing". *Karmapravacanīyas* may be roughly compared to the particles selected by verbs in English idioms like *take over*, *agree on*, *go in for*. The other (favoured) option is to make *adhi* a *gati*.[10] But the situation is different from the preceding rule in that *adhi*, unlike *tiras*, is a member of the class "*pra* etc.", so that rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* (see fn. 8) will apply regardless of the present rule to give an obligatory compound *adhikṛtya*, which is of course the desired result. The only effect of the present rule will be accentual. As a *gati*, *adhi* would normally be deaccented before accented finite verbs by 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. As a *karmapravacanīya* (and non-*gati*, by virtue of 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṁjñā*) it retains its accent. Unfortunately, *adhi* + *kṛ* only occurs in accented texts in *ádhikriyate* (*MS*. 3.7.7, 4.5.5) where the verb itself is unaccented, so that 8.1.71 is in any case inapplicable.

(11) 2.2 37 *vāhitāgnyādiṣu* [36 *niṣṭhā*] [35 *bahuvrīhau*] [30 *pūrvam*]

Participles in *-Kta*, *-KtavatU* obligatorily precede the other member of the compound in *bahuvrīhis* (2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*).

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[8] 2.2 18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* [17 *nityam*] [2.1.4 *saha supā*] [2.1.3 *samāsaḥ*] "*ku gatis*, and the *pra-* class are obligatorily compounded with words ending in case suffixes (i. e. with nominal forms)."

[9] 7.1.37 *samāse 'nañpūrve ktvo lyap* "*Ktvā* is replaced by *LyaP* in compounds, except those with negative *naÑ* (*a-*). The replacement *ya* in turn gets an initial augment *t* after a short stem vowel, by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*.

[10] 1.4.60 *gatiś ca* [59 *prādayaḥ*, *kriyāyoge*] "Items in the *pra*-class [which includes *adhi*] are *gati* when connected with an action."

The present rule makes this order optional, though still preferable (*vā*), for the class *āhitāgni* 'one who keeps a permanent sacred fire'. That is, we can according to Pāṇini's rule also say marginally *agnyāhita* in the same sense. Both these compounds are attested in Classical Sanskrit, but *āhitāgni* is vastly more common. The other compounds in the list, in so far as evidence is available, also seem to prefer the order with the participle first (this is true of *jātaputra* 'one who has gotten a son', *jātadanta* 'one who has gotten a tooth', *gatārtha* 'already understood'). While not much stock should be placed in the authenticity of the *ākṛtigaṇas*, the fact that the word mentioned in the rule behaves in accord with Pāṇini's preference is more significant.

The next rule 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* allows a similar option in *karmadhāraya* compounds. The words in the class *kaḍāra* 'tawny' ('buck-toothed' according to Lüders *AO* 16, 131 ff.) are preferably placed first in them, but may also marginally follow. No special mark that *vā* is continued is required here, for we know that the rule is optional : it would be pointless if obligatory, because qualifiers like *kaḍāra* will come first by the general rules that determine the order of compound elements. However, I have no data regarding usage in these compounds.

(12) 2.3.17 *manyakarmaṇy anādare vibhāṣāprāṇiṣu* [13 *caturthī*]

The (second) object of *manyate* 'considers' can be in the dative case when contempt is expressed, e.g. *na tvā tṛṇāya manye* 'I don't consider you (even) worth a straw', 'I don't care (even) a straw for you'. This is introduced as a marginal option. Pāṇini prefers the accusative case by the general rule 2.2.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* 'the accusative expresses an object', e. g. *na tvā tṛṇaṁ manye*. Speijer (1886, 66) remarks : " Instances of this dative in the literature, I have found but for *tṛṇāya*, see : B.R. s. v. and *Daś*. 88 *Kuberadattas tṛṇāya matvārthapatim* " Kuberadatta does not (even) care a straw for Arthapati ". The construction with the accusative is of course common. Thus, Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini.

(13) 2.3.25 *vibhāṣā 'striyām* [24 *pañcamī*] [23 *hetau*]

A cause (*hetu*) which is a property (*guṇa*), i.e. expressed by an abstract noun, can marginally have the ablative endings, except in the feminine, e.g. *vīryāt* (or preferably *vīryeṇa*) *muktaḥ* 'released by heroism'.

This rule is of great interest because it promises to give termini ante and post quem for dating Pāṇini. For the earlier and later stages of Sanskrit diverge completely here. In the older language, the ablative of cause never appears in abstract nouns. Accordings to Renou (1961, 299) citing Oldenberg, the ablative of cause, at least in abstract nouns, does not occur before the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*. In the *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* it is frequent only in book 24, which is a later addition marked by many other late linguistic features, as noted by Garbe in his edition (Vol. 3, p. xv). Renou also cites Sen's observation that it is rare in Buddhist literature.

Three ablatives of cause on abstract nouns appear in the present text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: 1.2.53 *tad aśiṣyam saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt*, 1.2.54 *lub yogāprakhyānāt*, 1.2.56 *pradhānapratyayārthavacanam arthasyānyapramāṇatvāt*. But the whole block of rules 1.2.54–57 to which they belong is generally considered to be an interpolation, as it differs from the rest of the Grammar in both style and content, and is moreover never mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, in spite of its theoretical import.

In later Sanskrit, the ablative of cause is of course extremely common. Whitney (p. 94) notes that the ablative is more frequent than the instrumental in this use. The ablative becomes very much a mark of commentatorial style, and it dominates already Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* (e.g. *na vā bahiraṅgalakṣaṇatvāt* 'or rather not, because of its being a *bahiraṅga* rule'). It even comes to be used more widely than Pāṇini's rule allows, with concrete nouns (e.g. *parvato vahnimān dhūmāt* 'the mountain has fire, because of the smoke'). Perhaps it was avoided in Buddhist literature because of its association with Brahmanical learning.

The present rule reflects a period *after* cause in abstract nouns began to be expressable by means of the ablative, but *before* this became favoured over the instrumental. Judging by the evidence of this rule, then, Pāṇini must be dated within a period delimited by the older Upaniṣads (in particular, the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*) and the older *Śrautasūtras* (in particular, the main body of the *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra*). This is consistent with the conclusions of Liebich (1891), as against the more recent date of 350 B.C. which is often proposed.

(**14**) 2.3.59 *vibhāṣopasarge* [58 *divas tadarthasya*] [52 *karmaṇi*] [50 *ṣaṣṭhī*]

The verb *div*, when it denotes gambling, can marginally (*vibhāṣā*) have its object (*karman*) in the genitive case when accompanied by a preverb. (By the preceding rule, the genitive object is obligatory with *div* otherwise). The preferred option is given by the general rule 2.2.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, by which the object receives the endings of the accusative case.

The accusative appears to be the normal construction here, e.g. *vi+div* ' to gamble away ' (*gām* ' a cow ' *Kāṭh.* 8.7, *ātmajām* ' his daughter ' *MBh.* 2.63.5), *ati+div* ' to stake ' (*vittam* ' your property ' *MBh.* 3.53.9). I have found no examples of a genitive object when *div* has a preverb. Usage in literature would appear to conform to the preference expressed in Pāṇini's rule.

(15) 2.3.71 *kṛtyānāṁ kartari vā* [50 *ṣaṣṭhī*]

The agent of forms with *kṛtya* suffixes is preferably in the genitive rather than in the instrumental (2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*). The facts in Classical Sanskrit are more complex than Pāṇini's rule indicates. Speijer (1886, 50), in commenting on the option, makes the following remarks: " As a rule the instrumental is required, if the verbal sense prevail, but the genitive, if the *kṛtya* have the value of a noun, adjective, or substantive. " To express a rule of this sort, Pāṇini would have had to complicate his grammar by an extra rule. In such situations he prefers to " round off " his rule, and this is evidently what he has done here. Why he has taken the nominal type of *kṛtya* formation as basic, though, is not clear to me. It is worth investigating whether there has been a similar shift in usage between earlier and later Sanskrit as is the rule 2.3.25 discussed above.

(16) 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānyavyañjanapaśuśakunyaśvavaḍavapūrvāparādharottarāṇām* [2 *dvandvaḥ*] [1 *ekavacanam*]

Dvandva compounds of trees, wild animals, types of grass, spices, domesticated animals, birds, and the compounds *aśvavaḍava*, *pūrvāpara*, *adharottara* can marginally be singular (and consequently neuter by 2.4.17 *sa napuṁsakam*), e. g. *vrīhiyavam* or (preferably) *vrīhiyavāḥ*, *-au* ' rice and barley '. Later grammarians considered the distinction between singular and dual / plural *dvandvas* to be based on a meaning difference : in singular compounds, the constituents denote the parts of a whole *(samāhāra)*, in dual and plural *dvandvas*, the constituents denote the members of a 'set *(itaretarayoga)*. Cf. Roodbergen 1974,

p. 139 ff., 179 ff. It could accordingly be argued that the question which kinds of *dvandva* compounds are singular and which kinds of *dvandva* compounds are dual and plural belongs outside of grammar, in the domain of *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intention'. This was not, however, Pāṇini's view, for he provided rules for the number of *dvandva* compounds (2.4.2–2.4.16), of which this and the following rule are optional.

The Vedic data on this point can be easily surveyed from the collection of Vedic *dvandva* compounds compiled in Reuter (1892, 175–183). Among the *dvandvas* he lists, the following fall under the option of the present rule. In the texts, they neverthelss all appear in the dual or plural (cited from Reuter in the stem form) : *ajāvi* (pl.) 'goats and sheep' *(RV., AV., VS., ŚB.)*, *goaśva* (pl.) 'cows and horses' *(AV., VS., MS., ŚB.)*, *kapotolūka* (du.) 'pigeon and owl' *(AV.)*, *vrīhiyava* (pl.) 'rice and barley' (*AV., ŚB. = BĀU.*), *tilamāṣa* (pl.) 'sesamum and beans' *(ŚB. = BĀU.)*, *aṇupriyaṁgu* (pl.) 'Panicum Miliaceum (millet) and Panicum Italicum' *(ŚB. = BĀU.)*, *māṣatila* (du.) 'beans and sesamum' *(TS.)*. The only singular *dvandva* of this type in Vedic appears to be *ajāvika* 'goats and sheep' (*ŚBM.* 4.5.5.4 — the *Kāṇva* recension has the plural). But in any case, this word is specially listed among the compounds which take obligatory singular in the *gaṇa gavāśvaprabhṛtīni* to 2.4.11.

For Classical Sanskrit I could not find a convenient collection of examples. A random sampling of epic texts showed the same clear preponderance of dual/plural *dvandvas* in the categories covered by 2.4.12 as in Vedic : *R.*1.5.21 *siṁhavyāghravarāhāṇām* 'of lions, tigers and boars', 2.24.5 *kuśakaṇṭakau* '*kuśa* grass and thorns', 2.27.11. *kuśakāśaśareṣikāḥ* '*kuśa* grass, *kāśa* grass and reeds', 3.26.10 *siṁhakuñjarayoḥ* 'of lion and elephant', 3.69.21 (1311*) *pippalalavaṇābhyām* 'with pepper and salt', *Vāyup*, 2.8.299 *jambubilvāmrapūgebhyaḥ* 'rose apples, wood apples, mangoes, and areca nuts'. This is not to say that there are no singular *dvandvas* of the same type. Cf. *M.* 4.115 *śvakharoṣṭram* 'dogs, donkeys, and camels'. Still, the dual and plural are definitely the normal case in the optional domain.

(**17**) 2.4.13 *vipratiṣiddhaṁ cānadhikaraṇavāci* [*vibhāṣā*]
[2 *dvandvaḥ*] [1 *ekavacanam*]

The same option as in the preceding rule holds for *dvandva* compounds of mutually contradictory terms which do not denote concrete objects, e.g. *sukhaduḥkham* or (preferably) *sukhaduḥkhe* 'pleasure and suffering'. Here too the dual/plural type is evidently favoured: *satyānṛte* 'truth and falsehood' *(RV., VS., ŚB.)*, *sādhvasādhvī* 'good and evil' *(ŚB.)*, *sadasatī* 'truth and falsehood' *(TB.)*, *jayaparājayau* 'victory and defeat' *(Yajñ.)*. Renou (1961, 104) cites *sukhaduḥkham* 'pleasure and suffering' as occurring in the *Upaniṣads*. Actually, this common *dvandva* compound is always dual or plural in the *Upaniṣads* as well as in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*. *VWC* gives a singular only in *Kauśītakī-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad* 3.7, but here the Poona edition (Limaye-Vadekar 1958) has *sukhaṁ duḥkham*, with a variant reading *na sukhaṁ na duḥkham*.

The singular option remains marginal in this type of *dvandva* compound also in Classical Sanskrit. Cf. the dual in the examples cited by Speijer (1886, 149): *Mudr.* 1, p. 19 *kopaprītyoḥ* 'of wrath and affection', and *Harṣac.* 5 *nisargavirodhinī ceyam* payaḥpāvakayor *ivaikatra* dharmakrodhayor *vṛttiḥ* 'and like *water* and *fire*, so *righteousness* and *anger*, [when meeting] at the same place, by their proper nature combat each other'—where the context makes it as clear as one could wish that *vipratiṣiddha* 'mutually contradictory' qualities are involved.

On the other side, we have cases like *AV. bhūtabhavyam* 'past and present', *AV.* 12.1.48 *bhadrapāpasya* 'of good and evil'. *Śītoṣṇa* 'cold and heat' appears both as a singular and, more often, as a dual.

In both of these rules, Pāṇini's specification of the singular option as *vibhāṣā* corresponds for the usage of literature at all periods of the language.

(**18**) 2.4.25 *vibhāṣā senāsurācchāyāśālāniśānām* [19 *tatpuruṣaḥ*] [17 *napuṁsakam*]

The words *senā* 'army', *surā* 'liquor', *chāyā* 'shadow', *śālā* 'hall', *niśā* 'night' may be, by a *vibhāṣā* option, neuter in *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The favoured alternative is to retain their original feminine gender, according to the general rule 2.4.26 (see Ch. 6). And in literature that is definitely the rule. For *-śālā*, which is the most frequent case, the feminine only is found in *aśvaśālā*, *gandharvaśālā*, *candraśālā*, *citraśālā*, *dhanuḥśālā*, *nartanaśālā*, *parṇaśālā*, *pūpaśālā*, *brahmaśālā*, *yajñaśālā*, *yānaśālā*, *rathaśālā*, *vahniśālā*, *vājiśālā*, *vāraṇaśālā*, *saṅgītaśālā*, *sattraśālā*, *sūdaśālā*, *hastiśālā*. Both feminine and neuter occur in *agniśālā (RV)*, *-am (AV)*, *patnīśālā*. No word has only the neuter *-śālam* (BR). Classical usage accords with Pāṇini's preference.

(**19**) 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ* [49 *gāṅ*]
2.4.51 *ṇau ca saṁścaṅoḥ* [48 *iṅaḥ*]
[50 *vibhāṣā*]

The root *iṄ* (e.g. *adhīte* ' learns ') can marginally be replaced by *gāṄ* before the aorist *(luṅ)* and conditional *(lṛṅ)* suffixes, e.g. 3.sg.aor. mid. *adhyagīṣṭa* or (preferably) *adhyaiṣṭa*. The same option is given by the next rule before the causative suffix *Ṇi* followed by the desiderative suffix *saN* or the aorist suffix *CaṄ*. I can find very little data bearing on all this, but such forms as do occur (*adhyagīṣṭhāḥ Ch. U.* 7.1.3, *adhyagīṣata TĀ.* 2.9.1) represent Pāṇini's marginal option.

(**20**) 2.4.55 *vā liṭi* [54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*]

The root *cakṣIṄ*[11] ' see, seem ' is preferably replaced by *khyāÑ*[12] in the perfect : *cakhyau* or (less preferably) *cacakṣe*. From the plain verb DC cites seven occurrences of the favoured forms, one Vedic (*cakhyatuḥ RV* 7.70.4) and six Classical. No certain cases of the marginal forms are cited.[13] The situation is different for *ācakṣ/ākhyā* ' tell ' (the latter, a separate verb in the *Dhātupāṭha*, 2.51 *khyā prakathane*). The perfect forms of both are quite common (*ācacakṣe* and *ācakhyau*), indeed both are virtually formulas in the Epics and *Purāṇas*. Thus, Pāṇini's preference holds in Classical Sanskrit for *cakṣ* ' see ', but not for *ācakṣ* ' tell '.

(**21**) 2.4.78 *vibhāṣā ghrādhetśāchāsaḥ* [77 *sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*]
[58 *luk*]

After the roots *ghrā* ' smell ', *dheṬ (dhā)* ' suck ', *śā* ' sharpen ', *chā* ' cut up ', *sā* ' bind ', the aorist suffix *sIC* can marginally be deleted (replaced by *luk* ' zero ') before the active endings, e.g. *aghrāt* or (preferably) *aghrāsīt* ' smelled '. However, 2.4.80 *mantre ghasahvaraṇaśavṛdahādvṛjkṛgamijanibhyo leḥ* requires this deletion obligatorily for *all* roots in *-ā*, which includes the five mentioned in 78, in a *mantra*. The root aorists *adhāt*, *asāt* are indeed found in *mantra* texts. I cannot find examples of either root- or *s*-aorists of these verbs elsewhere, however.

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[11] The discritic *Ṅ* triggers the middle voice by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*.

[12] Middle only when used reflexively, by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*.

[13] The form *cacakṣe* is found as a variant reading for *ācakhyau* in *Matsyapur*. 27.27a. *RV anu cacakṣa* (2x) does not count here since it is active and Pāṇini's *cakṣIṄ* can only be middle.

The next rule, 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ*, deletes *sIC* before the middle endings 3.sg. *ta* and 2.sg. *thās* after the roots of the class "*tan* etc.", which are the roots of the eighth present class. The tradition continues *vibhāṣā* from 78 into this rule. However, since there is no indication in the text to this effect, such as a *ca* or following *nityam*, *vibhāṣā* should by our assumptions stop at 78. In fact, it is more likely that normal forms like *atata*, *atathāḥ* were obligatory in Pāṇini's language, than that they were marginal variants to the unattested ***ataniṣṭa*, *ataniṣṭhāḥ*.

(22) 3.1.31 *āyādaya ārdhadhatuke vā*

The preceding three rules introduce the semantically empty suffixes *āya*, *īyaṄ* and *ṆiṄ* after certain verb roots. The present rule makes them optional (*vā*) before *ārdhadhātuka* suffixes. For example, 3.1.28 *gupūdhūpavicchipaṇipanibhya āyaḥ* requires *āya* to be added to the root *gup* 'protect', e.g. *gopāyati*. The present rule allows a choice between e.g. *gopāyitṛ* 'protector' and *goptṛ*. According to Pāṇini's rule, the former alternative is preferred. This does not agree with Sanskrit usage, where e.g. *goptṛ* is much more common than *gopāyitṛ*, and *kamitṛ* is much more common than *kāmayitṛ*.[14] The same is true wherever this rule can be checked against usage.

(23) 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ* [48 *kartari caṅ*] [44 *cleḥ*]

After the roots *dheṬ* 'suck' and *śvi* 'swell', the general aorist suffix *Cli*[15] can marginally (*vibhāṣā*) be replaced by the suffixes *CaṄ* (the reduplicated aorist). The preferred option is to replace it by *sIC* (the sigmatic aorist and forms derived from it) by the general rule 3.1.4 *cleḥ sic*. Neither *dhe* nor *śvi* is attested with a reduplicated aorist; we find only *adhāt* and *aśvat*, derived with *sIC* (eliminated respectively by 2.4.78 *vibhāṣā ghrādheṭśāchāsaḥ* and 3.1.58 *jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca*, see items 21, 24). Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's rule.

(24) 3.1.57 *irito vā*

3.1.58 *jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca*
[55 *parasmaipadeṣu*] [52 *aṅ*] [44 *cleḥ*] [57 *vā*]

The general aorist suffix *Cli* is preferably replaced by *aṄ* (the thematic aorist) in the active voice after a root with the diacritic *IR* and the roots listed in 58. The marginal option is to change *Cli* to *sIC* (the sigmatic aorist) by 44 *cleḥ sic*. On the basis of the material cited in Whitney's *Roots* and Narten (1964), it appears that of the two forms the *aṄ*- aorist is the only occurring one or the predominant one in the following roots : *nij* ' wash ', *bhid* ' split ', *mruc* ' set ', *yuj* ' join ', *rud* ' cry ', *śuc* ' gleam ', *śvi* ' swell '. Both *aṄ* and *sIC* formations are found in *chid* ' split ', *dṛś* ' see ', *budh* ' awaken ', *ric* ' leave ' (where we have *RV*. *s*-aor. *araik* and Class. *aricat*) and *rudh* ' block '. The *sIC*–aorist is the only occurring or predominant formation in *ūh* ' remove ', *jṝ* ' age ', and *stambh* ' prop '. In the other roots which come under these two rules, neither type of aorist is cited in these sources. The *aṄ*-aorist favoured in these verbs by Pāṇini thus appears to be somewhat more common in usage also. Rule 57 is in agreement with the preference found in literature, while rule 58, with only two verbs attested in the relevant forms, is not.

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[14] The suffix here is *ṆiṄ* by 3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*; it causes *vṛddhi* in the root and itself gets *guṇa* from the following agent suffix *-tṛ*.

[15] 3.1.43 *cli luṅi*.

(25) 3.1.70 *vā bhrāśabhlāśabhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣaḥ* [69 *śyan*] [68 *kartari*] [67 *sārvadhātuke*]
3.1.71 *yaso 'nupasargāt* [70 *vā*]
3.1.72 *saṁyasaśca* [70 *vā*]

The listed verbs preferably (*vā*) take the *ŚyaN* before *sārvadhātuka* suffixes denoting the agent, i.e. they preferably belong to the fourth (*div*) class. The minor option is to apply the suffix *ŚaP* by the general rule 3.1.68 *kartari śap*. Classical Sanskrit prefers *trasyati* ' fears ' over *trasati*, *klāmyati* ' to weary ' over *klamati*, and *yasyati* ' strives ' over *yasati*. On the other hand, it prefers (*abhi*-) *laṣati* ' craves ' over (*abhi*-) *laṣyati*, *krāmati* ' strides ' over *krāmyati*, and *bhramati* ' wanders ' over *bhrāmyati*. Thus Classical Sanskrit diverges from Pāṇini in half of the cases.

(26) 3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ* [109 *kyap*]

The roots *kṛ* ' do ' and *vṛṣ* ' rain ' can marginally take the gerundive suffix *KyaP* (unaccented *ya* with weak grade of the root). The preferred option is *ṆyaT* (*vā* with strengthening of the root) : viz. *kṛtya vṛṣya*, or preferably *kārya*, *varṣya*. Both *kṛtya* and *kārya* are common, of course, but the latter is definitely more so. Neither form from *vṛṣ* seems to be attested. In the one root where data is available, then, usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(27) 3.1.139 *dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā* [137 *śaḥ*] [68 *kartari*]

The verbs *dadāti* (*dā*) ' give ' and *dadhāti* (*dhā*) ' put ' can marginally (*vibhāṣā*) take the suffix *śa* to denote the agent, viz. *dada*, *dadha*.[16] These two words are in fact quite rare. W.2.1, 182 cites only *B. iḍādadha* (a designation of a certain sacrifice) and *abhayaṁdada, dharaṁdada, pṛthivīṁdada, phalaṁdada* (Buddhist designations of deities).

It is clear, then, that Pāṇini's *vibhāṣā* is appropriate in view of the marginal status of these derivatives. But what is the preferred alternative? This is best answered in connection with our discussion of 3.1.141, which follows directly below.

(**28**) 3.1.140 *jvalitikasantebhyo ṇaḥ* [139 *vibhāṣā*]
3.1.141 *śyādvyaddhāsrusaṁsrvatīṇavasāvahṛlihaśliṣaśvasaś ca* [68 *kartari*]

The first rule introduces the suffix *Ṇa* after the roots from *jval* up to and including *kas* in the *Dhātupāṭha* (1.884 -913). The second does the same after *śyā*, roots in *-ā*, *vyadh*, *ā* + *sru*, *saṁ* + *sru*, *ati* + *i*, *ava* + *sā*, *ava* + *hṛ*, *liṅ*, *śliṣ*, and *śvas*.

The tradition considers the first rule optional and the second obligatory. But it is against Pāṇini's normal procedure to continue *vibhāṣā* into another rule without an explicit indication to that effect — especially when, as in this case, the process item is also changed. Moreover, the *ca* of the second rule would then be redundant. The wording of the rules rather indicates, then, that *both* rules are optional by virtue of *ca* of 141, which continues *vibhāṣā* from 139 into 140 and 141.

Let us look first at 140, which even the tradition agrees is optional. It says that certain roots form agent nouns with both *Ṇa* by the present rule and, preferably, with *ac* (by 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*, or, in the case of roots with medial *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, with *Ka* by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*). The option, then, is between a marginal derivative with strong root form and a preferred derivative with weak root form, e. g. *jvāla* ' flame ', *kola* ' group, family ' *(Ṇa)*, or *jvala (aC)*, *kula (Ka)*. The roots in question are not actually listed in the class "*pac* etc. ", which is an *ākṛtigaṇa* (incomplete listing), but they must be assumed to be included there because most of them do form commonly used agent nouns in *-a* with weak form of the root. The type with strong root form, on the other hand, is quite rare. In the following roots falling under the option of the present rule, the weak formation as an agent noun is the more common or only attested word : *cal* ' move ', *sthal* ' be firm ', *hal* ' plow ', *pul* ' be extensive ' (*vipula* ' extensive '), *kul* ' accumulate, be related ' (*kula* ' herd, group, family '), *path* ' go ' (*patha* ' road '), *bhram* ' wander, err ', *sah* ' overcome ', *kuc* ' be curved ' (*kuca* ' teat ' ?), *budh* ' be aware '. In the following roots, the strong form predominates : *jval* ' burn ', *kṣar* ' melt away ', *ram* ' enjoy ', *kruś* ' shout ', *ruh* ' climb '. This is consistent with Pāṇini's use of *vibhāṣā*.

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[16] By virtue of its diacritic *Ś*, the suffix *Śa* is a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅ śit sārvadhātukam*). This will cause addition of the *vikaraṇa ŚaP* by 3.1.68 *kartari śap* [67 *sārvadhātuke*] which is replāced by the null element *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*), and this in turn triggers reduplication of the root (6.1.10 *ślau*). The effect is to give the root the same form before *Śa* as it has in the present tense, e.g. *dadā* + *Śa* like *dadā* + *tiP*. The root final *ā* is deleted before the vocalic suffix by 6.4.140 *āto dhātoḥ*, giving *dada*, *dadha*.

The continuation of *vibhāṣā* into the next rule (141) is supported by the fact that the derivatives with strong root form in each single case named in the rule are quite rare. The commonest is perhaps *saṁsrāva* ' that which flows together, dregs ', though even here *saṁsrava* is more common. But the other forms, *-śyāya, dāya, dhāya, pāya,* etc.[17], *vyādha, āsrāva, atyāya, avasāya, avahāra, leha, śleṣa*, are rare or unattested *as agent nouns*.

What is the point of making the suffix *Ṇa* optional for roots in *ā* generally ? The only such roots which receive a competing *sarūpa* suffix of the form *a* by other rules are *jñā* ' know ' (*Ka* by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*) and *dā, dhā* (*Śa* by 3.1.139, cf. above). And 139 being itself optional, we would get both *Śa* by 139 and *Ṇa* by 141 after *dā, dhā* anyway even if 141 was obligatory. Nor can the purpose be to make e.g. *pāya* ' protector ' with *Ṇa* by 141 an alternative to *pātṛ* with *tṛC* by 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*, the general rule for agent suffixes. For again, both *pāya* and *pātṛ* would be derivable even if 141 was obligatory, because 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* provides that a special suffix does not block an *asarūpa* general suffix (i. e. one which has a different form (cf. Ch. 2, p. 27)). Since the optional status of 141 is thus apparently pointless for many of the roots specified in this rule, the tradition wrongly came to the conclusion that it is really obligatory. But as we have seen, this contradicts both the formulation of 140–141 and the attested facts of Sanskrit usage.

The difficulty is not solvable on the basis of the traditional conception of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But as we now understand the meaning difference between *vā* and *vibhāṣā* the situation becomes clearer. The general effect of 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*, as we saw in Ch. 2, is to make special formations *preferred* to the general formations to which they are options. This is in general the desired effect, and it is indeed a pervasive feature of languages in general. For example, *yajña*, from the special rule 3.3.90, is preferred to *yāga*, from the general rules 3.3.18–19. But in any language there are nevertheless bound to be some exceptions to this general trend. The roots in *-ā* provide examples of special formations which are *not* preferred to the corresponding general formations. 'Giver', 'protector' etc. are expressed with the general suffix *tṛC* (*dātṛ*, *pātṛ*) in preference to the special suffixes *Śa*, *Ka* (*dada*, *dāya*, *pāya* etc.). This is reflected by the mention of *vibhāṣā* in 139, 141. What is particularly interesting in the case of *dā*, *dhā* is that both special processes with the *sarūpa* suffixes *Śa* and *Ka* are designated as marginal. This serves, then, to override the *vā* of 3.1.94.

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[17] The *-y-* is inserted by 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*.

(**29**) 3.1.143 *vibhāṣā grahaḥ* [140 *ṇaḥ*] [68 *kartari*]

The root *grah* 'seize' can marginally take the suffix *Ṇa* in the agentive sense, viz. *grāha*. The word is attested, in Classical Sanskrit, ordinarily in the specialized meaning 'crocodile'. As explained in connection with the previous rule discussed, the tradition must justify the mention of *vibhāṣā* by finding a *sarūpa* agent suffix, i.e. one whose form is also *a*, which can be added to *grah* as an alternative to *Ṇa*. But no such suffix is provided for *grah* by any rule of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The tradition solves the problem by assuming that *grah* is included twice in 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*, namely once (of course) in the class '*grah*' etc. (taking *ṆinI*) and another time in the class '*pac* etc.', taking *aC*. On this view, then, we would have an option between the agent nouns *grāhá* (marginal) and *grahá* (preferred). Two considerations argue against it : *grah* is in fact not included in the traditional enumeration of the roots '*pac* etc.', and *grahá* simply does not occur as an agent noun in earlier stages of Sanskrit (a fact noted by Wackernagel 2.2, 67). It is better, therefore, not to add *grah* to the *pac* class. This means that Pāṇini's purpose in adding *vibhāṣā* to the present rule is not to make *grāha* a marginal option to another *(sarūpa)* form in *-a* — such a form does not exist and is not derived in Pāṇini's system — but rather to make *grāha* a marginal option to the *asarūpa* forms *grāhin* (3.1.134), *grahītṛ*, and *grāhaka* (3.1.133), which are, of course, more common. Here is another case in which relying on the general principle 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* would have given the wrong result : it would have made *grāha* the preferred form. The mention of *vibhāṣā* in 143 thus cancels the *vā* of 94. If this interpretation is correct, then we have here another case in which Pāṇini has complicated his rules in order to obtain the proper distribution of preferences. At any rate, Pāṇini's use of *vibhāṣā* here is in agreement with the attested usage of Sanskrit.

(30) 3.2.122 *puri luṅ cāsme* [121 *vibhāṣā*] [118 *laṭ*] [84 *bhūte*]

After *purā* 'formerly, in olden times', past time can marginally be expressed by the present tense *(laṭ)* and also by the aorist, provided that *sma* is not present. E.g. *iha purā vasanti* or (preferably) *iha purā'vātsuḥ* 'they used to live here before'. According to the tradition, the condition *anadyatane* 'in expressing time anterior to the present day' must be continued by irregular *anuvṛtti (maṇḍūkapluti)* from 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ,* but this seems unnecessary as the meaning of *purā* by itself would limit this usage to relatively distant past events.

In Classical Sanskrit, *purā* is used more often with the past tenses (not necessarily only the aorist) than with the present. See e.g. the examples cited under *purā* in BR, and cf. Renou (1961, 410), who says that this turn of phrase, which first appears in the *Upaniṣads,* "remains rare" in Classical Sanskrit. This agrees, then, with Pāṇini's rule.

(31) 3.3.5 *vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ* [4 *laṭ*] [3 *bhaviṣyati*]

With *kadā* and *karhi* 'when', the present tense *(lAṬ)* can marginally be used to express future time. The preferred alternative is to use the future tense *(lṚṬ*[18], *lUṬ*[19] *)*. From the DC citations for *kadā* and *karhi*, it is clear that Classical Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini, in that the future tense is more frequently used with them than the present.

(32) 3.3.14 *lṛṭaḥ sad vā*

The marker of the (first future) tense is preferably replaced by the participle suffixes *sat* (a cover term for *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*)[20]. According to the tradition, the rule does two things : it extends rule 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe* from the present *(lAṬ)* to the future *(lṚṬ),* requiring obligatory participle endings when a verb agrees with a noun in an oblique case (e.g. *kariṣyantaṁ devadattaṁ paśya* " look at Devadatta about to work "), and it moreover allows *optional* participles to stand instead of the personal endings in verbs which agree with a nominative subject, e.g. *Devadattaḥ kariṣyati* or *D. kariṣyan* ' D. is about to work. "[21] There are problems with this interpretation. The rule does not clearly say the two things it is supposed to say. Moreover, the construction *Devadattaḥ kariṣyan* which it is supposed to sanction (according to our conception of *vā*, even to recommend) does not exist in practice (Speijer 1886, 5).

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[18] 3.3.13 *lṛṭ śeṣe ca.*

[19] 3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ.*

[20] 3.2.127 *tau sat.*

Is there another way to understand the rule ? Consider the fact that it appears in the context of several rules having to do with verbal complements expressing purpose (10 *kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyām*). Rules 10–13 introduce a number of alternatives : *tumUN* and *ṆvuL (= aka*[22] *)*[23], (e.g. *bhoktuṁ vrajati, bhojako vrajati* " he goes to eat ", abstract nouns denoting action[24], e.g. *pākāya vrajati* " he goes to cook ", the suffix *aṆ* when the root is compounded with an object,[25] e.g. *kāṇḍalāvo vrajati* " he goes to cut reeds ", and the first future,[26] e.g. *kariṣyāmīti vrajati* " he goes to work " (literally, " he goes [intending] ' I 'll work ' "). The latter rule also accounts for the general uses of the first future *(śeṣe ca)*. Now, a reasonable interpretation to put on the next rule, the problematic *lṛṭaḥ sad vā*, is that it introduces the participle as a preferred alternative to the finite forms of the future in purpose complements — in other words, that *kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyām* is continued as far as this rule. The meaning of *lṛṭaḥ sad vā*, then, is that *kariṣyan gacchati* " he goes in order to work " is preferable to *kariṣyāmīti gacchati* — a very sensible thing for the rule to be saying. This improves the system somewhat on this point, and reconciles the use of *vā* in the rule with the meaning we are assigning to it. Still, it is imperfect in one respect. It means that Pāṇini has not excluded finite forms in agreement with oblique cases in the future tense, e.g. **Devadattaṁ gami-*

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[21] Proximate future. Distant future is expressed by the periphrastic (second) future, e. g. *Devadattaḥ kartā* " D. will work (e. g. tomorrow) ". Cf. 3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*.

[22] 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau.*

[23] 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyām.*

[24] 3.3.11 *bhāvavacanāś ca.*

[25] 3.3.12 *aṇ karmaṇi ca.*

[26] 3.3.13 *lṛṭ śeṣe ca.*

ṣyati paśyati, 3.2.124 being restricted to the present *(laṭaḥ . . . .)*. But this should not count against my proposal, for the following reason : even under the traditional interpretation of 3.3.14, Pāṇini's rules leave the very same gap in the case of the past tense, failing to exclude ungrammatical sentences like **Devadattam agacchat paśyati*. It is thus a more general deficiency of the grammar, which is not touched by anything we do to 3.3.14.

(**33**) 3.3.50 *vibhāṣ"āṅi rupluvoḥ* [18, 19 *bhāve, akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām*] [16 *ghañ*]

The roots *ru* ' roar ' and *plu* ' swim ' may marginally take the suffix *GHaÑ* (*a* with *vṛddhi* of the root[27]) to denote action, or a *kāraka* other than the agent in lexicalized derivatives. The preferred forms are with the suffix *aP* (= *a* with *guṇa* of the root) by 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*. *Ārāva* and *ārava* ' roar, noise ' are both fairly common, but do not occur in the early Classical literature (both are first cited from the 7th cent. A. D.). Only the former seems to occur in the Epics. For the other noun, the differentiation is clear. *Āplāva* ' bathing ' is found in the *Padmapurāṇa* (11th c. A.D.) and in a couple of 19th century texts. *Āplava* occurs in several *Purāṇas (Agnip., Brahmap., Yogavāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa)* as well as in latter Classical texts. It also occurs in the early Classical *Kumārasaṁbhava* (4th c. A.D.) in *āplavalabdhasaṁjña* (12.17) ' which has obtained consciousness (life) through a bath ' (DC). Thus, the data about Classical usage are inconclusive with respect to the first word given by Pāṇini's rule, but they show definite agreement in the case of the second. In this and the following cases (items 33–36) the *vṛddhi* forms (suffix *GHaÑ*) are historically innovations.

(**34**) 3.3.51 *ave graho varṣapratibandhe* [50 *vibhāṣā*] [16 *ghañ*]

The root *grah* with *ava* can take, but preferably does not take, the suffix GHaÑ (= *a* with *vṛddhi* of the root), viz. *avagraha*, denoting ' drought '. The major option is the suffix *aP* (= *a* with *guṇa* of the root) by rule 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛniścigamaś ca*, viz. *avagraha*. This preferred form is common in Classical Sanskrit (*Purāṇas, Kāvyas*, Astronomy, etc.). *Avagrāha* ' drought ' does occur, but only rarely (3 or 4 times in the DC material). Classical usage clearly agrees with Pāṇini on this point.

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[27] 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*.

(**35**) 3.3.52 *pre vaṇijām* [51 *grahaḥ*]
3.3.53 *raśmau ca* [52 *pre*] [51 *grahaḥ*]
3.3.54 *vṛṇoter ācchādane* [52 *pre*]
3.3.55 *parau bhuvo 'vajñāne*
[50 *vibhāṣa*]
[16 *ghañ*]

Like the two preceding rules, these rules all introduce the suffix *GHaÑ* as a marginal alternative to *aP* (derived by 3.3.58 in the first three cases and 3.3.57 in the fourth). Rules 52 and 53 present this option in *pragraha* 'belonging to merchants' (52) and 'rein, cord' (53). Rules 54 and 55 present *pravāra* 'a garment' and *paribhāva* 'contempt' as less preferred forms. I have been unable to locate *pragraha* or *pragrāha* in the meaning specified in rule 52 (the string from which a balance hangs, according to the tradition). *Pragraha* 'rein, bridle, rope, cord' etc. is quite common, while *pragrāha* is not attested. *Pravāra* and *pravara* "cover, garment" are both attested. *Paribhava* 'humiliation, contempt' is common, whereas *paribhāva* is not. In sum, the evidence from literature is inconclusive for rules 52 and 54, but for rules 53 and 55 it supports a pattern of preference in usage which definitely agrees with that expressed in Pāṇini's rules. Although there is no formal indication that *vibhāṣā* is to be continued all the way to 55, the data support the traditional interpretation in this case.

(**36**) 3.3.62 *svanahasor vā*
3.3.63 *yamaḥ samupaniviṣu ca*
3.3.64 *nau gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ*
3.3.65 *kvaṇo viṇāyāṁ ca*
[57 *ap*]

All four rules introduce the suffix *aP* (unaccented *a* with *guṇa* of the root) as the preferred expression of state or action (18 *bhāve*) or of a *kāraka* relation other than that of agent, in lexicalized form (19 *akartari ca kārake saṁjñāyām*). In 62 *aP* is added to *svan* 'make noise' and *has* 'laugh'; in 63 to *yam* 'hold', also after the preverbs *sam*, *upa*, *ni* and *vi*; in 64 to *gad* 'say', *nad* 'resound', *paṭh* 'read', *svan* 'make noise' after *ni*; in 65 to *kvaṇ* 'make noise', in reference to a *viṇā* 'lute'. The alternative to *aP* is the suffix *GHaÑ* from 3.3.18, 19, which is homonymous with *aP* but differs from it in requiring *vṛddhi* of the root.

The facts of usage according to BR, MW (and for *upayāma*, *kvāṇa* also DC) are as follows :

Suffix aP	*Suffix ghaÑ*
svana (common, Vedic and Class.)	*svāna* (rare)
hasa (Vedic only)	*hāsa* (common)
yama (common)	*yāma* (not attested)
saṁyama (common)	*saṁyāma* (not attested)
upayama (fairly common, *Sūtras*, Class., DC)	*upayāma* (mainly Vedic for ' ladle ')
niyama (common)	*niyāma* (not attested)
viyama (not attested)	*viyāma* (not attested)
nigada (common)	*nigāda* (not attested)
ninada (common, 21x BR)	*nināda* (common, but less so, 13x BR)
nipaṭha (not attested)	*nipāṭha* (not attested)
nisvana (common)	*nisvāna* (rare)
nikvaṇa (rare)	*nikvāṇa* (rare)
kvaṇa (2x DC late Class.)	*kvāṇa* (11x DC late Class.)

Out of the thirteen pairs of words formed by these rules, eight show the predicted preference for the short stem vowel *(aP)* in Classical Sanskrit usage, two *(hāsa, kvaṇa)* show the opposite preference, and for the remaining three the evidence is inconclusive. On the whole, then, Classical usage tends to adhere to the same preferences as those expressed in Pāṇini's rules.

(37) 3.3.110 *vibhāṣākhyānaparipraśnayor iñ ca* [94 *striyām*]

In a question and the answer to it, the feminine suffix *iÑ* (*i* with *vṛddhi* of the root) can marginally be used to mark the action, e.g. *kāṁ kārim akārṣīḥ* " What have you done ? ", *sarvāṁ kārim akārṣam* " I have done everything ". The location is not attested in Classical literature, though Wackernagel (2.2, 298) suggests that *RV* 10.34.13 *kṛṣim it kṛṣasva* can be understood in the analogous way, i.e. " do your plowing ". To say that this is a marginal option is, if anything, an understatement, judging by the written literature. Sanskrit usage at all periods evidently agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(38) 3.3.143 *vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca* [144 *garhāyām, laṭ*]

With *katham* 'how' the present tense is marginally used in a deprecatory sense, and also (preferably) the optative.

According to the tradition, the past and future tenses are also allowed by this rule, depending on the time to be indicated. It seems most reasonable to take the deprecatory sense as referring in a general way to rhetorical *how*-questions, which are used to convey the meaning that something is inappropriate, difficult, unlikely, etc., e.g. *katham utsṛjya tvāṁ gaccheyam* ' how can I go away deserting you ? ' (MW), as opposed to straight requests for information, when the optative is not used. The optative is evidently the favoured verb form in such rhetorical *how*-questions, in accord with Pāṇini's rule. The tradition takes *garhāyām* in a somewhat narrower sense, judging from its examples, which always involve actual blame or contempt, e.g. *kathaṁ nāma tatrabhavān vṛṣalaṁ yājayet/yājayati* ' how is his honour officiating at a sacrifice for an outcaste ? ' It is not clear that these are in reality different from rhetorical *how*-questions as whole, so that, even on that narrower interpretation, Sanskrit usage appears to agree with Pāṇini's preference.

(**39**) 4 1.34 *vibhāṣā sapūrvasya* [33 *patyur naḥ*] [3 *striyām*]

At the end of feminine *bahuvrīhi* compounds, *pati* ' husband, lord ' may *(vibhāṣā)* take its feminine form *patnī*, or preferably remain as *pati*, e.g. *hatapatnī(kā)* or *hatapati(kā)* ' a woman whose husband has been killed '.[28] By Pāṇini's next rule,[29] this is obligatory in certain words (*sapatnī* ' woman whose husband is the same, co-wife '). In the remainder, which fall under the present rule, *–pati*, is clearly more frequent in literature (BR under *-pati*, *-patnī*). Classical Sanskrit agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(**40**) 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt* [40 *ṅīṣ*] [3 *striyām*]

Adjectives in short *-u* preferably take the suffix *ṄīṢ* *(= ī́)* in the feminine, the alternative being no suffix at all, e g. *paṭvī* or less preferably *paṭu* ' clever '. This is correct for Classical Sanskrit also. According to Renou, *-vī* is " far more frequent " there than *-u*.[30] The same is true for earlier Sanskrit; Wackernagel notes that *-vī* is the usual ending and there are only " scattered " occurrences of *-u* (and *-ū*).[31] All stages of Sanskrit share Pāṇini's preference.

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[28] *Samāsānta -ka* (fem. *-kā*) may optionally be added by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*, cf. Ch. 2.

[29] 4.1.35 *nityaṁ sapatnyādiṣu.*

[30] " En fait, *-vī* est de beaucoup le plus fréquent en cl.[assique] " [Renou, 1961, 282].

[31] " Vorklassisch findet sich neben *-vī-* vereinzelt sowohl Motionslosigkeit als auch *-ū-* im Fem. " (W.2.2, 467).

(41) 4.1.45 *bahvādibhyaś ca* [44 *voto guṇavacanāt*] [40 *ṅīṣ*] [3 *striyām*]

Words in the *bahu* class also preferably take -*ī́* in the feminine. *Bahu,* being an adjective ending in -*u*, is in itself already covered by the preceding rule. It is included here because of the next rule 46 *nityaṁ chandasi*, which makes *NĪṢ* obligatory for *bahu* and the other words in its class in Vedic. This agrees with the facts as far as *bahu* is concerned : the normal feminine is *bahvī* and no other feminine form is found in Vedic.[32] The rest of the list is a motley collection for which the rule is violated as often as not, as is characteristic for the *ākṛtigaṇas*.

(42) 4.1.53 *asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā* [52 *bahuvrīheḥ, antodāttāt*] [51 *ktāt*] [40 *ṅīṣ*] [3 *striyām*]
4.1.54 *svāṅgāccopasarjanād asaṁyogopadhāt* [53 *vā*] [40 *ṅīṣ*] [3 *striyām*]
4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca* [54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*] [53 *vā*] [40 *ṅīṣ*] [3 *striyām*]

These rules attach the feminine suffix -*ī* in preference (*vā*) to the alternative -*ā*[33] in various *bahuvrīhi* compounds. Rule 53 applies to *bahuvrīhis* with end-accented participles as second members, when the first member is not a body part,[34] e.g. *surāpītī* or less preferably *surāpītā* 'a drunken woman'. The next rule applies to *bahuvrīhis* ending in body parts if they do not have a consonant cluster in penultimate position, e.g. *candramukhī* or less preferably *candramukhā* 'a woman with a face (beautiful) like the moon'. Rule 55 extends the same option to *bahuvrīhis* in -*nāsikā* 'nose' etc., which would otherwise fall under the prohibition of -*ī* in 4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ* 'not *kroḍa* etc. and polysyllabic stems'.

The sources are insufficient to check this lexical information in every detail against actual usage. As regards body part *bahuvrīhis* (54 and 55) the preference for -*ī* is clear from the material in W. 2.2, 376–9 and BR for the more common nouns, e.g. -*mukhī*, -*śṛṅgī*, -*stanī*[35], -*udarī*, and there is no reason to believe that they are not representative. In so far as data on Classical usage is available, then, it agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

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[32] According to Wackernagel (2.2, 467), only -*vī* exists for all adjectives in -*u* in the *Ṛgveda*.

[33] 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

[34] If the first member is a body part, -*ī* is obligatory by 52 *bahuvrīheś cāntodāttāt*.

[35] In Vedic -*stanā* is common, but in Epic and Classical literature, -*stanī* predominates, as W. expressly remarks (p. 377, note). Whitney lists, among final members "taking, usually or always, -*ī* instead", *mukha, keśa* (4.1.54) and *udara, karṇa* (4.1.55). Cf. also *śuddhadantī* (*Khi.* 3.15.7).

(43) 4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* | [112 *aṇ*]
4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt* [118 *vā*] | [92 *tasyāpatyam*]

The suffix *aṆ* (= *a* with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable[36] is the preferred way *(vā)* of denoting a descendant of Pīlā. The resulting metronymic *Paila* has a less favoured synonym *Paileya*, with *ḍhaK* (= *eyá* with initial *vṛddhi*), formed by the general rule for metronymics 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak.*[37] According to MW, *Paila* is found in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the *Mahābhārata*, and elsewhere. *Paileya* is not cited as occurring in literature. Pāṇini himself cites *Paila* in 2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca.*

The second rule introduces *aṆ* as a designation of a descendant of *Maṇḍūka*, which is given as preferred relative to *iÑ* (= *i* with initial *vṛddhi* and accent), derived by 4.1.95 *ata iñ.* In addition, the rule allows also *(ca)* the suffix *ḍhaK.* We have, then, the three options *Māṇḍūka, Māṇḍūkeya* (no preference expressed between those two), and marginally *Māṇḍūki.* MW in fact cites *Māṇḍūka* and *Māṇḍūkeya* as names from early literature, but he cites *Māṇḍūki* only from Pāṇini.

With regard to both these rules, Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's preferences.

(44) 4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā* [129 *ḍhrak*] [92 *tasyāpatyam*]

The offspring of wretched females is denoted preferably *(vā)* by *ḍhraK* (= *era* with initial *vṛddhi*[38]). The alternative is *ḍhak* (= *eyá* with initial *vṛddhi*) by 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak.* The *eyá* suffix occurs in this use in *TS.*, *MS. pauṁścaleyá* ' son of a whore '; in view of the social conditions also class. *vaidhaveya* ' son of a widow ' can be included here. The suffix *era* appears to have had a popular, even slangy tinge and is not attested is Sanskrit literature as such. But it is attested in Middle Indic. W.2.2, 512 cites the abusive term *kāṇelīmātṛ (Mṛcch.)*, which must contain a dialectal variant of *kāṇera* 'son of a one-eyed woman', and Pā. *vedhavera* (Class. *vaidhaveya*) 'son of a widow'. It is at least possible that *era* was the productive colloquial suffix in this specialized use already in Pāṇini's time, though the evidence remains inconclusive. Cf. Thieme (1937 b, 111 ff.).

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[36] 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ.*

[37] The suffix *ḍhaK* becomes *-eya* by 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām*, causes initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.118 *kiti ca* and gets final accent by 6.1.165 *kitaḥ.*

[38] Thes uffix *ḍhraK* becomes *eyra* by 7.1.2 and *era* by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali.* Otherwise it works like *ḍhaK* (see fn. 37).

(**45**) 4.2.23 *vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārttikīcaitrībhyaḥ* [22 *ṭhak*] [21 *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti*]

The rule forms the designations of periods of time, in particular months, on the basis of the full moons which occur in them. The names of the full moons are in turn derived from the names of the corresponding lunar mansions. The main rule 4.2.21 *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti* introduces the suffix *aṆ* (with initial *vṛddhi*), giving e.g. *pauṣa* 'lunar month corresponding to December / January', from *pauṣī* 'full moon in the *puṣya* constellation'. The special rule 4.2.23 allows optionally (*vibhāṣā*) the alternative suffix *ṭhaK* (*-ika* 7.3.50) for the full moons *phālgunī* 'full moon in the constellation *phālgunī*', *śrāvaṇī* 'full moon in the constellation *śravaṇa*', *kārttikī* 'full moon in the constellation *kṛttikā* (Pleiades)' and *caitrī* 'full moon in the constellation *citrā*' giving the pairs *phālgunika* besides *phālguna* 'February / March', *śrāvaṇika* besides *śrāvaṇa* 'July / August', *kārttikikā* besides *kārttika* 'October / November', and *caitrika* besides *caitra* 'March / April'.

The facts here are quite clear. The *-ika* forms, which Pāṇini introduces by *vibhāṣā*, are in fact very marginal options, and hard to find in the Sanskrit literature of any period. The major options *phālguna, śrāvaṇa, kārttika, caitra* are the normal names for these months, as frequent as the corresponding English March, April etc. Classical Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(**46**) 4.2.130 *vibhāṣā kuruyugandharābhyām* [121 *vuñ*] [92 *śeṣe*]

The suffix *vuÑ* (*-aka* with initial *vṛddhi*[39]) is optionally (*vibhāṣā*) added to the place names *Kuru* and *Yugandhara* to denote the *śeṣa* meanings (viz. 4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ* 'born in ——', 4.3.38 *kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ* 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled in ——', 4.3.41 *sambhūte* 'come into existence in ——' etc.) viz. *Kauravaka, Yaugandharaka*. The preferred option is *aṆ* (*-a* with initial *vṛddhi*) by 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ* and more specifically for *kuru* by 4.2.133 *kaccādibhyaś ca*. The form *kaurava* is of course vastly more common than *kauravaka*, but it is sometimes hard to separate the meanings 'descendant of Kuru' from 'native of the Kuru country'. The *śeṣa* meaning is given for *kaurava* at *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 9.30 and *Vāmanapurāṇa* 13.36, for *kauravaka* at *Mbh.* 6.46.7.

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[39] 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*, 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*.

(47) 4.2.144 *vibhāṣā'manuṣye* [137 *chaḥ*] [143 *parvatāt*]

The suffix *cha (= īya*[40]*)* is optionally *(vibhāṣā)* suffixed to *parvata* 'mountain' in a variety of meanings (4.2.92 *śeṣe* 'the rest', cf. the preceding rule), provided that it does not refer to a human being.[41] The resulting *parvatīya*, then, is a marginal synonym, in this domain of meanings, for *pārvata*, derived with *aṆ*[42] by 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ*. In fact *pārvata* is more frequent than *parvatīya* and *pārvata* is used only to qualify inanimate objects (e.g. *guhā* 'cave', *durga* 'fortress, pass', *paśu* 'animal', 'cattle') or divine beings (notably the goddess Pārvatī), not counting persons named after that goddess (BR).

(48) 4.3.24 *vibhāṣā pūrvāparāhṇābhyām* [23 *ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca*]

In the *śeṣa* meanings (4.2.92 *śeṣa*, cf. on 4.2.130 above), the suffixes *Ṭyu (= ana)* and *ṬyuL* (= *ana* with presuffixal accent) are optimally added to *pūrvāhṇa* 'forenoon' and *aparāhṇa* 'afternoon' and both suffixes get an initial augment *tUṬ*, viz. *pūrvāhṇatana*. *aparāhṇatana* (also *-ahṇetana* by 6.3.17). This is a marginal *(vibhāṣā)* option; the preferred option is given by the general rule 4.3.11 *kālat ṭhañ*, which adds the suffix *ṭhaÑ* (= *ika* with stem-initial *vṛddhi* and accent), viz. *paurvāhṇika, āparāhṇika*. The forms preferred by Pāṇini are common beginning with the *Sūtra* period (*paurvāhṇika, Kāty. Śr.S., Mbh.* etc., *āparāhṇika Āśv. Śr.S., Āp. Śr.S., Kāty. Śr.S.*). The forms in *-tana*, which Pāṇini designates as marginal, are not attested in the literature (BR, and for *āparāhṇika, aparahṇatana, aparāhṇetana* also on the authority of DC). Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(49) 4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyāṁ ca* [13 *vibhāṣā*] [11 *ṭhañ*]

Niśā 'night' and *pradoṣa* 'evening' can marginally get the suffix *ṭhaÑ* (*ika* with initial *vṛddhi* and accent) in the *śeṣa* meanings, as an alternative to the suffix *aṆ* (*a* with initial *vṛddhi*), which comes by 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ*. (*Vibhāṣā* is continued from the preceding rule *vibhāṣā rogā-*

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[40] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām.*

[41] When it does refer to a human being, *cha* is obligatory by the preceding rule 143 *parvatāc ca.*

[42] *a* with initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ.*

tapayoḥ, for which I can find no examples). Thus, we have the adjectives *naiśika*, *prādoṣika* or (preferably) *naiśa*, *prādoṣa*. *Naiśa* is much more common than *naiśika* (BR). The other pair is not so common (BR only gives *prādoṣika* 1x), so that the relative frequency of the two is not clear. For *naiśa* / *naiśika*, however, Classical usage is clearly in accord with Pāṇini's preference.

(**50**) 4.3.128 *śākalād vā* [126 *gotracaraṇād*] [127 *aṇ*]

The suffix *aṆ* (= with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable) is preferably (*vā*) added to *śākala* in the sense 'of Śākala' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The marginal option is rule 4.3.126, *gotracaraṇād vuñ*, which adds *vuÑ* (= *aka* with stem-initial *vṛddhi* and stem-initial accent.[43] As predicted, *śākala*, not *Śākalaka*, is the normal designation e.g. for the various texts of the *Śākala* school (BR, MW). Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(**51**) 4.3.143 *mayaḍ vaitayor bhāṣāyām abhakṣācchādanayoḥ*

In the meanings "made of——" (4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*), and "a part of——" after terms denoting living creatures, plants, and trees, (4.3.135 *avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ*), the suffix *maya* is preferably (*vā*) added, in the colloquial (*bhāṣā*) language, except to denote food or clothing. E.g. *mūrvāmaya* 'made of bowstring hemp', or (by the general rule 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ*) also with *-aṆ*: *maurva*. The rule is hedged about with a great number of special provisions, contained in rules 4.1.136–168, which introduce other suffixes instead after certain stems, and make *-maya* obligatory after certain others. Outside these special cases, which Pāṇini enumerates at length, it does appear that Pāṇini's preferred suffix *-maya* is indeed more popular in the literature too. A check of a representative set of derivatives showed that quite often only the *-maya* term is common in usage: BR, MW have *rajatamaya* 'made of silver', *ratnamaya* 'made of jewels', *asthimaya* 'made of bone', *ammaya* 'made of water', *paṭamaya* 'made of cloth' (referring to a tent), but not *rājata*, *rātna*, *āstha*, *āpa*, *pāṭa*, in these meanings. Pronouns always take *-maya*: *etanmaya*, *idammaya* 'made of this', *tanmaya* 'made of that', etc. *Hiraṇmaya* 'golden', *aśmamaya* 'made of stone', *parṇamaya* 'made of *parṇa* wood (*Butea frondosa*)', are more common that *hairaṇya*, *āśmana*, *pārṇā*. On the other hand, *maurva* 'made of bowstring hemp', *dānta* 'made of ivory ', *lauha* ' made of iron ', *raupya* ' made of silver ' are more common than *mūrvāmaya, dantamaya, lohamaya, rūpyamaya.* On balance, then, Classical usage tends towards the suffix *-maya,* which Pāṇini also recommends in his rule.

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[43] 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*, 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*, 6.1.197 *ñnity ādir nityam*.

(52) 4.3.158 *umorṇayor vā* [157 *vuñ*] [134–5 *tasya vikāraḥ, avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ*]

To denote the meanings ' made of – ' (and ' part of – ') *umā* ' flax ' and *ūrṇā* ' wool ' preferably get the suffix *vuÑ* (*aka* with initial *vṛddhi* and accent), with the other option being the general suffix *aṆ* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ*). *Aurṇa* ' woolen ' is common in Classical Sanskrit. *Aurṇaka* is not attested, though there is *aurṇika* (*Suśr.*). Neither *auma* nor *aumaka* ' flaxen ' are attested (DC). Thus Classical Sanskrit diverges from Pāṇini, at least in the case of the words for ' woolen ', where data is available.

(53) 4.3.165 *jambvā vā* [164 *aṇ*] [163 *phale*]

The fruit of the *jambū* (rose apple) tree can be designated by adding the suffix *aṆ* (*a* with initial *vṛddhi*) to the name of the tree, giving *jāmbava.* This is preferred *(vā)* to the other options of adding the null suffix *luk* by the general rule 4.3.163 *phale luk,* resulting in *jambu,* or adding the other null suffix *lup* by 4.3.166 *lup ca,* resulting in *jambū.* For the fruit, Pāṇini's preferred form *jāmbava* is slightly more frequent than *jambū* overall, and more noticeably so in earlier texts. I suspect that *jambū* denoting the fruit represents a more loose usage, for in the technical context of medical texts (e.g. *Caraka*) the distinction between *jambū* (the tree) and *jāmbava* (the fruit) seems to be well maintained.

(54) 4.4.17 *vibhāṣā vivadhāt* [16 *ṣṭhan*] [15 *harati*] [2 *tena*]

The suffix *ṢṭhaN (= ika*[44]*)* can marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be added to *vivadha* ' shoulder yoke ' in the sense " one who carries things with —— ", viz. *vivadhika.* The preferred expression is formed by 15 *haratyutsaṅgādibhyaḥ,* which adds *ṭhak* in the same meaning (= *ika* as before, but with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable,[45] and final accent,[46] viz. *vaivadhikā.* And *vaivadhika* is the from which is actully attested in use in Classical Sanskrit *(Harṣacarita, Rājat., Kapphiṇābhyudaya, Sūkti.).* In practice, it means a hawker or porter who uses a shoulder yoke. I could find no examples of *vivadhika*. It appears that the form preferred by Pāṇini is also preferred in Classical Sanskrit.

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[44] 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ.* Initial accent by 6.1.197 *ñnity ādir nityam.*

[45] 7.2.118 *kiti ca.*

[46] 6.1.165 *kitaḥ.*

(55) 4.4.113 *srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau* [110 *bhāve*]

The word *srotas* ' river ' can marginally take the suffixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* (= *ya* with deletion of *-as* in the stem and *svarita* or *udātta* on the suffix) e.g. *srotyā̀*, *srotyā́* (fem.) ' flowing in rivers '. The major option is the suffix *yaT* (4.4.75 *prāg ghitād yat*). Only this latter form, *srotasyà*, is attested in the appropriate meaning ' flowing in rivers ' (*AV*. 19.2.4). Pāṇini's rule appears to agree with the usage in literature.

(56) 5.1.4 *vibhāṣā havirapūpādibhyāḥ* [2 *yaT*]

Words denoting oblations, and the words *apūpa* ' cake ' etc., can marginally take the suffix *yaT* (= *ya* with *svarita* or *udātta* on the suffix), in the meanings given in the sequel such as 5.1.12 *tadarthaṁ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* " after a word denoting a product, to indicate raw material for the product ", e.g. *apūpya* or (preferably) *apūpīya* ' for making cakes ' (e.g. flour). The latter variant is derived by the main rule 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*. These are technical terms of ritual, most of which are quite rare in the literature. The only one of sizable frequency appears to be *puroḍāśya* / *puroḍāśīya*. Here the form in *-īya* is clearly more common in the *Śrautasūtras*, and only this variant is attested in the *Brāhmaṇas*. This agrees with the preference expressed by Pāṇini.

(57) 5.1.29 *vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām* [28 *adhyardha-pūrvād dvigor lug asaṁjñāyām*]

In a compound beginning with *adhyardha-* ' one and a half ' and in a *dvigu* compound, a null suffix *(luk)* can marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be added to denote a measure if the compound ends in *kārṣāpaṇa* (a certain weight) or *sahasra* ' a thousand ', e.g. *dvisahasra* ' amounting to two thousand ' *trisahasra* ' amounting to three thousand ', etc. The preferred alternative is given for *-kārṣāpaṇa* by the general rule 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*, which adds the suffix *ṭhaÑ* (= *(i) ka*)[47] in this meaning, and for *-sahasra* by another special rule, 5.1.27 *śatamānaviṁśatikasahasravasanād aṇ*, which adds instead the suffix *aṆ* (*a* with initial *vṛddhi*[48]) to a set of words including *-sahasra*, e.g. *dvisāhasra*, *trisāhasra*, etc. Though I was unable to find examples of compounds with *-kārṣāpaṇa*, those with *-sahasra* are frequent and normally show *vṛddhi*, in agreement with the preference expressed in Pāṇini's rule : *dvisāhasra*, *trisāhasra*, *śatasāhasra* (BR, W.2.2, 112).

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[47] 47. 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

[48] 48. 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*.

(58) 5.1.60 *pañcaddaśatau varge vā*

Previous rules (5.1.22 *saṁkhyāyā atiadatantāyāḥ kan* and 5.1.58 *saṁkhyāyāḥ saṁjñāsaṅghasūtrādhyayaneṣu*) have specified the suffix *-kaN* (= *ka* with word initial accent) after numerals to denote, among other meanings, that of a set (n-tuple), e.g. *trika* ' triplet ', *pañcaka* ' quintuple ' etc. The present rule says that in the special subsense of an " order " (i.e. an ordered n-tuple) the numerals " five " and " ten " have the preferred alternative derivatives *pañcat* ' pentad ', *daśat* ' decad ' (along with *pañcaka*, *daśaka*, less favoured in those meanings). The word *daśat* ' decad ' is found in *ŚB.* (4 times) and once in *PB.* For *daśaka* BR provide only two very late attestations.

(59) 5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhya imanij vā* [119 *tasya bhāvaḥ*]

The class *pṛthu* ' wide ' preferably *(vā)* gets the suffix *imanIC (= imán)* to denote a state, e.g. *prathiman* ' extension '. This is in preference to other suffixes such as *aṆ*, assigned by 131 to *pṛthu* and generally to light stems in *i*, *u* or *ṛ*, e.g. *pārthava*.[49] The preference holds in Classical Sanskrit for *pṛthu*, the item actually named in Pāṇini's rule, and some other items in the associated *gaṇa*, such as *tanu* ' slender ' (*taniman* preferred to *tānava*), *uru* ' wide ' (*variman* preferred to *aurava*). But it does not seem that, at least in late Classical Sanskrit, it holds for *all* words in the *gaṇa*. For example, *laghiman* ' lightness ' and *gariman* ' heaviness ' are common enough, but not *more* common than *lāghava* and *gaurava*. This is a common situation where *gaṇas* are involved in Pāṇinian rules. One or more of the following three factors may be involved :

(1) The rule may be meant to say not that *all* of the words in the *gaṇa* preferably take *imanIC*, but that *most* of the words in the *gaṇa* preferably take *imanIC* (" rounding off ", cf. Ch. 2).

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[49] 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*, 120 *ā ca tvāt* give a blanket option of also using *-tva* and *-taL* (= *tā*) in place of all these suffixes. This rule is independent of the present rule and no preference as between the two is expressed in Pāṇini's system.

(2) There may have been shifts in the frequency of some of the derivatives in later Sanskrit. i have been unable to check out to what extent this is so.

(3) Some of the words in the *gaṇa* may be later interpolations. Cf. Birwé (1961) and Shastri (n. d.) for beginnings towards the much-needed textual criticism of the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

(**60**) 5.2.43 *dvitribhyāṁ tayasyāyaj vā*

The suffix *-tayaP*, introduced after numerals in the sense "consisting of——parts" by the preceding rule 42 *saṁkhyāyā avayave tayap* is optionally replaced by this rule with the synonymous suffix *-aya* after the numerals *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three', viz. *dvitaya* / *dvaya* 'pair', *tritaya* / *traya* 'triplet'. Since the rule is given with *vā*, Pāṇini prefers *dvaya*, *traya* to *dvitaya*, *tritaya*. This is also the preference of Classical Sanskrit authors, by an overwhelming margin (BR, cf. W.2.2, 595–6; 3.419–21 for discussion).

(**61**) 5.2.77 *tāvatithaṁ grahaṇam iti lug vā* [64 *kan*]

Numerals get the suffix *kaN* (*ka* with stem-initial accent) in the sense "—fold", "numbering —" (literally "comprising the — th"[50]). Before this suffix, the same rule that adds it allows for the ordinal suffix (*-tīya* etc.) to be deleted optionally (*vā*), e.g. *dvika* or (less preferably) *dvitīyaka* 'twofold'. Classical usage shares this preference for deleting the *tīya* : *dvika* 'twofold', *trika* 'threefold', *catuṣka* 'fourfold' are common, also in early Classical texts *Sūtras*, *Mn.*, *Suśr.*, *Ṛk Prāt.* etc.). *Dvitīyaka*, *tṛtīyaka*, *caturthaka* are not cited in this meaning (BR, MW), though they are used in some other senses, e.g. "recurring every —th day", e.g. *tṛtīyako jvaraḥ* 'tertian fever (Malaria)'.

(**62**) 5.3.29 *vibhāṣā parāvarābhyām* [28 *atasuc*] [27 *saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣu*]

In the locative, ablative, and nominative cases, *para* and *avara* may marginally receive the suffix *atasUC* (= *atás*) to express direction, place, or time. The preferred option is to add *astāt* by 5.3.27 *dikchabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ*. Both derivatives of *para* are quite current, in Vedic as well as Classical Sanskrit.

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[50] This may seem strange, but is comparable to ordinary expressions like *ātmanādvitīya*, *-tṛtīya* 'with one other person', 'with two other persons', literally 'with oneself the second (third)' (6.3.6 *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe*).

However, the form preferred by Pāṇini is rather more common (BR cites *parastāt* 39x as against *parataḥ* 21x). Neither *avarastāt* nor *avataḥ* is attested in literature.

(63) 5.3.41 *vibhāṣā’varasya* [40 *astāti*] [39 *avaḥ*]

The replacement of *avara* ‘ posterior, western ’ by *ava* before the suffix *astāt*, which would otherwise be obligatory by 5.3.39, 40, is optional *(vibhāṣā)*. The form *avarastāt* is not attested. *Avastāt* is frequent in the Vedic period *(RV., VS., ŚB., TB., AB., KB., JB., TĀ.)*. It then disappears in the post-Vedic language, except for one occurrence in the *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra* 3.22. Thus Pāṇini's preference cannot be checked properly against the Classical Sanskrit facts here, although it is clear that he either did not notice or deliberately ignored the Vedic usage.

(64) 5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu*

The preceding rule 67 *īṣadasamāptau kalpabdeśyadeśīyaraḥ* introduces the three suffixes *-kalpaP*, *-deśya*, *-deśīyaR* to express the notions “almost— ”, “ virtually— ”, “ rather — ” (literally “ almost completed— ”), e.g. *mṛtakalpa* ‘ almost dead ’, *śīṣudeśya (Rājat.)* ‘almost a child’, *ṣaḍvarṣadeśīya (Raghuv.)* ‘ almost six years old ’. The present rule adds, for nominal forms, yet another option *(vibhāṣā)*, that of prefixing *bahuC-*, e.g. *bahutrivarṣa* (*Lāṭy. Śr. S.* 8.3.9) ‘ almost three years old ’. The three suffixes should accordingly be preferred to the prefix. And that is indeed the case in attested usage. *-kalpa, -deśya, -deśīya* each outnumber *bahu-* (in this meaning) by a comfortable margin (BR, A). The suffix *-kalpa* is very common, in Vedic as well as in Classical Sanskrit; *-deśya* and *-deśīya* less so. The prefix *bahu-* is only attested in two citations in these lexicons, *bahutṛṇa* ‘ virtually grass ’ (*Śiṣ.* 2.50) and the example just cited. Classical Sanskrit usage accords well with Pāṇini's preference.

(65) 5.3.93 *vā bahūnāṁ jātiparipraśne ḍatamac* [92 *kiṁyattadaḥ, nirdhāraṇe ekasya*]

In generic questions singling out one from many, the pronouns *kim, yat, tad* preferably get the suffix *ḌatamaC* (= *atamá* with deletion of the stem vowel and the consonant following it, viz. *katamá, yatamá, tatamá.* E.g. *katamo bhavatāṁ kaṭhaḥ* “ What (man) among you is a *Kaṭha* ? ”, but not in non-generic questions, e.g. * *katamo bhavatāṁ devadattaḥ* “*What (man) among you is Devadatta?” (note that the corresponding ungrammaticality comes out in the

English if we use *what* but not if we use *which*). The marginal alternative is simply to use the ordinary pronouns *kim* etc. in such cases. There is no doubt that the usual practice in Sanskrit is to use *katama* etc. in this case (Speijer 1886, 210). What Pāṇini has observed is exactly what Speijer also says there : The distinction between *kim* and *katama* " is not always strictly observed ", i.e., it usually is.

(66) 5.4.8 *vibhāṣā'ñcer adikstriyām* [7 *khaḥ*]

The rule allows marginally the addition of *kha* (= *īna*[51]) to stems in *añc* (see Ch. 2), e.g. *prāk/prācīna* ' former, eastern '. In accordance with Pāṇini's rule, the forms in *īna* are much less common compared to the forms in plain *añc*, at all stages of Sanskrit (BR).

(67) 5.4.10 *sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti cet* [9 *chaḥ*]

The suffix *cha* (= *īya*[52]) can optionally (*vibhāṣā*) be added to *-sthāna* compounded with the meaning ' instead of—', e.g. *bhrātṛsthānīya*, or preferably *bhrātṛsthāna* ' instead of a brother '. Cf. Ch. 2 for discussion. In Classical literature, at least of the early period, *-sthāna* predominates in this meaning. It is frequent in the *Sūtras*, e.g. *Kāty. Śr. S.* 25.5.7, *Lāṭy. Śr. S.* 1.4.3, *Āśv. Śr. S.* 5.46, 3.6.1, and is used in such early works as *Nir.* 12.7 and *Ṛk Prāt.* 14.15, 14.17. With the *-īya* suffix in the early literature, I could only find *patisthānīya Āśv. Śr. S.* 4.2.18. Classical Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(68) 5.4.20 *vibhāṣā bahor dhā'viprakṛṣṭakāle*

The rule allows marginally (*vibhāṣā*) the suffix *dhā* after *bahu* ' many ' in the sense ' many times ', provided that the time interval is not protracted. The preferred alternative in this meaning is to add the suffix *kṛtvasUC* (5.4.17 *saṁkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*). As a word, *bahudhā* is of course much more common than *bahukṛtvaḥ*. However, in the great majority of cases *bahudhā* means ' in various ways ' rather than ' many times '. In fact, in the examples of *bahudhā* from early literature which are cited in BR, it never needs to be translated as ' many times '. *Bahukṛtvaḥ* occurs in Vedic in *ŚB.* 8.1.1.2, but it is more properly to be analyzed as two separate words (cf. *bahu iva kṛtvaḥ JB* 1.61 (8)), as noted in BR. In late Sanskrit, *bahudhā* becomes fairly common in the meaning ' many times ' (DC).

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[51] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām.*

[52] 7.1.2 *āyaneyinīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām.*

(69) 5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye* [50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari*]

The suffix *-sātI* is marginally permitted (instead of *CvI*) to denote complete change into that which the stem denotes, when compounded with the roots *kṛ, bhū,* or *as* (see Ch. 2). At all stages of Sanskrit, the forms in *CvI* (*ī* in *a*-stems[53]) are much more frequent than those in *sāt*. According to Whitney (p. 402 *s. v.* 1094, p. 407 *s. v.* 1108) for *sāt* " some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier. . . " whereas *ī* forms with *a*-stems alone " occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language ", to which must be added a fair number of accurrences in the post-Rigvedic early language (*AV, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Sūtras,* cf. Whitney, p. 401–2 *s. v.* 1093a) and scattered examples from other stems than *a*-stems. This rule, then, expresses the same preference as is reflected throughout the Sanskrit literature.

(70) 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā* [71 *nañas tatpuruṣāt*] [69 *na*]

Rule 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ pathām ānakṣe* adds the suffix *-a* to compounds ending in certain nouns including *path-* ' road ' e.g. *kupathaḥ* ' bad road ', not **kupanthāḥ* as would otherwise be the result. The compound-final (*samāsānta*) suffixes are restricted by 5.4.71 *nañas tatpuruṣāt* [69 *na*], which blocks them in *tatpuruṣa* compounds made with the negative *naÑ*[54] as first members. This restriction in turn is qualified by the present rule, which makes it optional (*vibhāṣā*) for compounds in *path-*. The *blocking* of compound-final *-a* is a marginal option: the adding of the suffix *-a* is accordingly preferred; Pāṇini favours *apatham*[55] over *apanthāḥ*.

In fact, *apatham* ' no road, wrong way ' is common in all periods of Sanskrit, from Vedic onwards, while *apanthāḥ* is not attested in literature (DC).

(71) 5.4.130 *ūrdhvād vibhāṣā* [129 *jānunor jñuḥ*] [113 *bahuvrīhau*]

In a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *ūrdhva* ' raised ', the word *jānu* ' knee ' can be (*vibhāṣā*) replaced by *jñu*. *Ūrdhvajñu* ' with raised knees ' occurs in *MS* (1x), *Ait. Ār.* (1x), *Sūtra* works (13x), and 3x in later Classical texts. The synonym *ūrdhvajānu* occurs in *Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa* (1x),

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[53] 7.4.32 *asya cvau.*

[54] Reduced to *a-* by 6.3.73 *nalopo nañaḥ.*

[55] Neuter by the special rule 2.4.30 *apathaṁ napuṁsakam.*

Atharvapariśiṣṭa (1x), *Sūtra* works (3x), and is cited 36x in later Classical texts[56] in DC. The option preferred by Pāṇini, *ūrdhvajānu*, predominates in Classical usage. It is noteworthy, however, that the usage of the *Sūtra* literature represents in this respect an older standard than Pāṇini.

(72) 5.4.133 *vā saṁjñāyām* [132 *dhanuṣaḥ*] [131 *anaṅ*] [113 *bahuvrīhau*]

In lexicalized *(saṁjñā) bahuvrīhi* compounds, *dhanuṣ* ' bow ' preferably *(vā)* gets the suffix *ānAṄ*, e.g. *śatadhanvan* or (less good) *śatadhanuṣ*. Names like *Śatadhanvan* (Ep.), *Sudhanvan* (*BĀU.* 33.2) are common, and in the Classical language *dhanvan* is restricted to such compounds *(* BR *)*. In the early Classical language we normally find *-dhanvan;* later *-dhanuṣ* begins to spread into *bahuvrīhis (Pur. Śatadhanuṣ)*, cf. W. 2.1, 93.

(73) 5.4.144 *vibhāṣā śyāvārokābhyām*
5.4.145 *agrāntaśuddhaśubhravṛṣavarāhebhyaś ca*
[141 *dantasya datṛ*]
[113 *bahuvrīhau*]

In *bahuvrīhi* compounds after *śyāva* and *aroka* ' discolored ', the noun *danta* ' tooth ' can be marginally *(vibhāṣā)* replaced by *datṚ* (*-dat*, strong stem *dant*). The compounds with *aroka* are unattested (indeed the adjective itself is quite obscure). The form *śyāvadanta (ka)* ' having discolored teeth ', favoured by Pāṇini, is common in Classical Sanskrit, both with and without the optional *bahuvrīhi* suffix *-ka*.[57] BR cites it from a number of early Classical texts *(śyāvadanta Manu., Suśr., Mārk. P. śyāvadantaka Manu., Yājñ., Suśr., Śārṅg. Saṁh.)*. *Śyāvadat* seems to be mainly restricted to Vedic. Classical Sanskrit agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

The second rule provides the same option after a word ending in *agra* ' tip ', and after *śuddha* ' pure ', *śubhra* ' radiant ', *vṛṣa* ' bull ', *varāha* ' boar '. Only the favoured forms in *-danta* are attested in literature : *śuddhadanta (Khi. -ī, Samarādityasaṁkṣepa)*, *śubhradanta (Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Avantisundarī)*, *varāhadanta* (*Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Kathāsaritsāgara*, in both cases as the name of a person). Again Classical Sanskrit agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

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[56] Very commonly in works on dance and drama, where it is a technical term for a certain posture.

[57] 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. See Ch. 2.

(**74**) 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*

Cf. Ch. 2 for discussion of the *samāsānta* suffix *ka* in *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

(75) 6.1.26 *vibhāṣābhyavapūrvasya* [24
śyaḥ] [13 *saṁprasāraṇam*]
6.1.27 *śṛtaṁ pāke*
6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī*
[22 *niṣṭhāyām*]

Rule 26 introduces marginal *saṁprasāraṇa* of the root *yai* (*śyā* by 6.1.45 *ād eca upadeśe 'śiti*, cf. below on 6.1.51) 'coagulate' before the *niṣṭhā* suffixes (the participial *Kta* and *KtavatU*) after the preverbs *abhi* and *ava*, e.g. *abhiśīna* or preferably *abhiśyāna* (*-ta* > *-na* by 8.2.47 *śyo 'sparśe*). No such forms with or without *saṁprasāraṇa* seem to occur in literature.

The next two rules give *śṛta* 'cooked' as a *nipātana* form (pp. of *śrai* > *śrā*) and *pī* as a replacement in the *niṣṭhā* forms of *pyāy* 'swell' e.g. *pīna* 'swollen, fat'. Kātyāyana on 27 explains that *śṛta* must be given ready-made because it corresponds to the causative *śrapayati* 'cook'. Another *vārttika* on 27, ascribed by Kielhorn to Patañjali since it is not paraphrased by him, restricts *śṛta* to occurring with *kṣīra* 'milk' and *haviḥ* 'oblation', other nouns supposedly requiring the non-*saṁprasāraṇa* form, e.g. *śrāṇā yavāgūḥ*, *śrapitā yavāgūḥ* 'cooked gruel'. Kātyāyana himself notes on 28 that after the preverb *ā*, the *saṁprasāraṇa* forms of *pyāy* are used with *andhu* 'well' and *ūdhas* 'udder, bosom' (*āṅpūrvād andhūdhasoḥ*, *Mahābhāṣya* 3, 28). Patañjali takes this to mean that *saṁprasāraṇa* is to be blocked both when the pp. of *ā* + *pyā* is used otherwise, e.g. *āpyānaś candramāḥ* 'full moon', and when *pyā* is used after other preverbs even with *andhu* and *ūdhaḥ*, e.g, *prapyānam ūdhaḥ* 'distended udder, ample breast'. The *Kāśikā* and later commentatories say simply that *pyā* never gets *saṁprasāraṇa* after any preverb, except after *ā* with *andhu* and *ūdhas*. They also handle the restrictions on 27 and 28 noted in the *Bhāṣya* by continuing *vibhāṣā* from 26 into both rules. This is then interpreted as a *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* limited option'. (On this commentator's trick, see Kielhorn, 1887, 132 f. and Renou 1942, 299). The idea here is that the optionality of the rule really means that it is sometimes obligatory and sometimes inapplicable, depending on the environment.

On the basis of our working assumption about the *anuvṛtti* of items like *vibhāṣā* both 27 and 28 would have to be obligatory, for there is no indication, such as *ca* or a following *nityam*, that *vibhāṣā* is meant to apply beyond rule 26 in which it is mentioned. Böhtlingk in his edition also translates 27 and 28 as obligatory rules, without commenting on the point.

A review of the facts shows this conclusion to be entirely correct. On the traditional interpretation, we would have marginally *śṛta* 'cooked' and *āpīna*, *pīna* 'swollen', and as preferable alternatives *śrāṇa* and *(ā)pyāna*. In reality, *śrāṇa* and *(ā)pyāna*, for from being the favoured forms, are not attested at all, while *śṛta* and *(ā)pīna* are quite common (*śṛta* e.g. *RV* 9.83.1, 10.16.1, *ŚB.* 3.2.2.10, 3.8.2.21 etc., *TB.* 1.6.6.4, *Kāty. ŚS.* 4.11.15, *Gobhila-Śrāddha-Kalpa* 1.7.7, *Kauśika-Sūtra* 12.16.22, *Āśv. ŚS.* 3.14.1, *(ā)pīna* e.g. *AV.* 9.1.9, *ŚB.* 46.7.18, *JB.* 7.333 (10), *Mbh.* 1.93.15, *Raghuv.* 2.18, *Mān. ŚS.* 92.4). The form *āpyānavatībhyām* (*ŚB.* 7.31.12, 45, 7.3.2.1) does not contain a past participle, but refers to a text containing the verb *ā* + *pyā* in any form (BR). Nothing in the actual linguistic data indicates that these two rules should be optional.

A few non-*saṁprasāraṇa* forms are attested in Vedic, but they end in *-ta* instead of *-na*: *śrāta RV.* 10.179.1, *TS.* 6.5 62, *Āṣv. ŚS.* 5.13.5, 6, *āpīta RV.* 8.9.19. Not only are they rare — they are also underivable in Pāṇini's system, for the roots *pyāy* (*OpyāyĪ*) and *śrā* (< *śrai*) both trigger the change of *-ta* to *-na* in *niṣṭhā* participles. The root *pyāy* does so because it has a diacritic *O* in its underlying form (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*) and the root *śrā* does so (in its unreduced form) because it ends in *ā* (by 6.1.45) and begins with a cluster containing a liquid or glide (8.2.43 *saṁyogāder āto dhātor yaṇvataḥ*). It is therefore impossible that these could have been the forms which supposedly motivated Pāṇini to make the rules optional: if he had them in mind, he would also have made arrangements for deriving the *t* form of the suffix in them.

It may be doubted whether Patañjali has correctly represented the point of Kātyāyana's *vārttika* on 28, which on the face of it simply restricts *pī* after *ā* and leaves it as obligatory after other preverbs. The *vārttika* and its apparent extension in the later commenteries seem to reflect an ongoing analogical leveling of the paradigm of *pyāy* since Pāṇini's time, whereby the weak form is gradually eliminated from the paradigm. As it is, the *niṣṭhā* forms are the last holdouts, a typical situation in the verb morphology (cf. below on 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*).

76 6.1.44 *vibhāṣā pareḥ* [43 *vyaḥ*] [41 *lyapi*] [37 *na samprasāraṇam*].

After the preverb *pari*, the root *vyā* 'envelop' may marginally (*vibhāṣā*) fail to get *samprasāraṇa*, before the gerund suffix *LyaP*, e.g. *parivyāya*, or (preferably) *parivīya*. The attested classical form is the one Pāṇini prefers, *parivīya* (*Āp. Śr. S., Kāty. Śr. S., Mān. Śr. S., Ṭupṭīkā, Tantraratna*).

(77) 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ* [50 *lyapi ca*] [45 *ād eca aśiti*]

A diphthong (*e, ai*) in the root *lī* (*līyati* 'clings') can marginally be replaced by *ā* before a suffix which does not have the diacritic *Ś* (e.g. not before the present tense suffix *ŚyaN* in *līyati*), and the same change can also apply to the root vowel before the gerund suffix *LyaP*. The *ā* forms are somewhat rarer in Sanskrit literature. Whitney (*Roots*) lists ger. *-lāya* (*Sūtras*), *-lāyam* (Vedic), and *lāpayati* (B+). The *ī-* forms are ger. *-līya* (E+), *lāyayati* (C), aor. *aleṣṭa* (*ŚB.*), and all perfect forms, *lilye* etc. (B+). This distribution tends in the direction of the preference indicated in Pāṇini's rule.

(78) 6.1.54 *cisphuror ṇau*
6.1.55 *prajane vīyateḥ* [54 *ṇau*]
6.1.56 *bibheter hetubhaye* [54 *ṇau*]
[51 *vibhāṣā*]
[45 *ād ecaḥ*]

The roots *ci* 'gather', *sphur* 'kick', *vī* 'conceive', *bhī* 'fear' can marginally undergo replacement of their diphthongs by *ā* in the causative, the latter two roots under special semantic conditions. For *ci* only the diphthongal forms favoured by Pāṇini are attested : *cāyayate*, not *cāpayate*. *Sphur* has both *sphārayati* (common) and *sphurayati* (C); *sphorayati* is not found. For *vī*, *bhī* I did not find evidence (the common form is *bhīṣayate*, not *bhāyayati* or *bhāpayati*). Inconclusive data.

(79) 6.1.122 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* [115 *na*]

Cf. p. 52. Modern texts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* usually read 6.1.115 as *prakṛtyāntaḥpādam avyapare* instead of *nāntaḥpādam avyapare*. Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's text probably had the latter reading, as noted in Böhtlingk's edition. Whether we read *na* 'not' or *prakṛtyā* 'in the original form', the effect is to block contraction, and it is also clear that the expression must be continued into the present rule, for it must be still in force further on in 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā aci nityam*. It must therefore have carried a *svarita* accent in the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The change from original *na* to *prakṛtyā* is an improvement in that it makes it clearer that the prohibition applies not merely to the immediately preceding contraction rule (6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*, in the case of 6.1.115), but to all preceding contraction rules (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, 6.1.78 *eco 'yavāyāvaḥ*, 6.1.78 *vānto yi pratyaye*, all blocked in certain circumstances by 6.1.125). But it gives in turn a rough construction in 6.1.115 (Thieme, 1956, 11–14).

In any case, the type *gavāśva* is overwhelmingly the most common type of *Sandhi* in this combination. Retention of the sequence *oa* is limited to a handful of words *(goaśva, goagra, goajana, goargha, goarṇas)*. It remains unproductive and exceptional in Classical Sanskrit, in agreement with the *vibhāṣā* status assigned to it by Pāṇini's rule.

(80) 6.1.150 *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā* [135 *suṭ*]

This is how Kātyāyana read the rule (Vol. 3, p. 95). Böhtlingk has *viṣkiraḥ śakunir vā*, which amounts to the same thing. The tradition *(Kāśikā, Siddhānta-Kaumudī)* reads instead *viṣkiraḥ śakunir vikiro vā*, a reformulation due to Kātyāyana. " In his opinion, *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā* would mean, that 'after *vi*, *kṝ* takes the augment *suṭ* -optionally, when one wishes to denote a bird ', whereas the real meaning of the rule is assumed to be that 'after *vi*, *kṝ* may take *suṭ* in case one wishes to denote a bird ; ' in other words, the bird may be called *vikira* or *viṣkira*, while in the case of any other meaning the only right form would be *vikira*. " (Kielhorn 1887, p. 121).

In Sanskrit literature, *viṣkira* is a fairly common designation of a gallinaceous bird (from *vi* + *kṝ* ' scatter ', referring to its scratching and pecking). Caraka (cited in Agrawal, 1963) includes the peacock and the chicken among the *viṣkiras*. The word also occurs in *Gaut. DhS.*, *Yājñ.*, *Suśruta*, *Kūrmap.*, *Viṣṇudharmottarap.*, *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, *Vāsudevavijaya*, *Rākṣasa*. The other form, *vikira*, is rather more rare, occurring in *Āp. DhS.* and otherwise apparently only in artificial compositions : *Yaśastilakacampū* (several times), *Rāvaṇārjunīya*.

Kātyāyana's understanding of the rule is undoubtedly correct in one aspect : the point is that in other meanings only *vikira*, not *viṣkira*, is possible. Thus, *vikira* means ' scatterings ', such as rice scattered before the leaves of the Brahmins after their meal on a *Śrāddha* day (*Mn.*, *Agnip.*, *Skandap.*, *Varāhap.*, *Mṛgendratantra*, *Tantrasamuccaya* etc., DC). But what is interesting here is that Pāṇini's original formulation of the rule correctly reflects the preferred status of *viṣkira* denoting a bird, whereas Kātyāyana's reformulation states the preference the other way round. Since the linguistic data indicate that *viṣkira* maintained its preferred status into the later language, Kātyāyana's reversal cannot have been intentional, but only an accidental byproduct of his differently motivated change in wording. This is another indication that already Kātyāyana is quite oblivious to the true meaning of *vā* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

(81) 6.1.181 *vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām* [180 *jhaly upottamam*] [179 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ*] [168 *vibhaktiḥ*] [159 *udāttaḥ*]

In a numeral called *ṣaṭ* (1.1.2.4 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*) and in *tri* 'three' and *catur* 'four', the penultimate vowel can marginally be accented in the spoken language *(bhāṣā)* before case endings beginning with obstruents, e.g. *pañcábhiḥ, tisṛ́bhiḥ*, of preferably *pañcabhíḥ*, *tisṛbhíḥ* by the preceding rule 6.1.180 *jhaly upottamam.* By restricting the rule to the *bhāṣā*, Pāṇini prescribes obligatory penultimate accent in Vedic for those cases. This is also what the accented Vedic texts always show (W. 3, 353). No accented texts recent enough to show this post-Vedic accent shift are available, so that this rule simply cannot be checked against the facts of usage.

(82) 6.1.196 *thali ca seṭīḍ anto vā* [194 *ādiḥ, anyatarasyām*] [157 *udāttaḥ*]

When the 2.sg. perfect ending *thaL* has the augment *iṬ*, the accent optionally *(anyatarasyām)*, or it can fall on the *iṬ* or on the final syllable *(vā)*. Since all these three locations are optional, we can also assign presuffixal accent by 6.1.193 *liti*, the rule which applies to forms with suffixes carrying diacritic *L* in general. This, at any rate, is the traditional interpretation of the rule. Though the wording of the rule is not quite clear, and the facts on this interpretation are surprising, I have nothing better to offer instead. In practice, the Vedic 2. sg. perfect forms in *-tha* always have presuffixal (i. e. root) accent, e. g., *tatárditha* 'split', *dudróhitha* 'hated' (Macdonell, p. 357). The variants *tátarditha tatardítha* are rather puzzling, and I do not understand how they would have arisen. The variant with final accent *(tatarditthá)*, which Pāṇini marks with *vā*, is understandable. It follows the analogy of the other forms with endings beginning in *i* : 1. du. *tatṛdivá*, 1. pl. *tatṛdimá*, mid. 2. sg. *tatṛdiṣé*, 2. pl. *tatṛdidhvé*. This explanation is supported by the fact that the 2. sg. *-itha* forms have been influenced by these other *i*-forms also in the shape of the root, in that they take the characteristic weak form with *e* e.g. 2. sg. *pecitha* like 1. du. *peciva*, 1. pl. *pecima*, mid. 2. pl. *pecidhve* etc. (6.4.121 *thali ca seṭi*), differing from the rest of the singular, viz. 1. sg. *papāca* (see below on 7.1.91), 3. sg. *papāca*, and 2. sg. without *i* : *papaktha*. This may also be a post-Vedic development, though crucial Vedic examples either way are lacking. By way of additional support, we may note the powerful spread of the ending *itha* itself at the cost of the simple *tha*. Pāṇini himself cites the Vedic *babhūtha*, *ātatantha*, *vavartha* (7.2.64) for Classical *babhūvitha*, *ātenitha*, *vavaritha*, and notes that Bhāradvāja requires *itha* everywhere except after roots ending in *ṛ* (7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*). Together with the change in the first person singular to be discussed under 7.1.91, this adds up to a fairly radical restructuring of the perfect paradigm between Vedic and early Classical Sanskrit, which also accounts for the accentual discrepancy between the Vedic forms and the present rule.

(83) 6.1.208 *rikte vibhāṣā* [197 *ādiḥ*] [157 *udāttaḥ*]

The word *rikta* ' empty ' can marginally have initial accent. Only the form preferred by Pāṇini, viz. *riktá*, is attested in literature *(AV., ŚB.)*.

(84) 6.1.215 *vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoḥ* [194 *ādiḥ*] [157 *udāttaḥ*]

The words *veṇu* ' reed ' and *indhāna* ' kindling ' (middle present participle of *idh*) can marginally have initial accent, i.e. *véṇu, indhāná*. End-accented *veṇú* occurs in *RV.*, *AV.*, and the *Brāhmaṇas*, *véṇu* only in *TS.* (W.2.2, 742) which agrees with Pāṇini's rule. On the other hand, initially accented *índhāna* is normal in Vedic. It is understandable that the unanalyzed noun *véṇu* retained its accent into Pāṇini's time, whereas the participle *índhāna*, which is an exception to the otherwise general final accent of *āna* participles from stems with " movable " accent (W.2.2, 275-6), became regularized in accord with the other athematic verbs.

(85) 6.2.20 *vā bhuvanam* [18 *patyāv aiśvarye*] [1 *prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*] [6.1.157 *udāttaḥ*]

Bhúvana ' world ' preferably *(vā)* retains its original accent in composition with *pati* in the meaning ' lord '. The form *bhúvanapati* occurs in *VS.*, *TS.*, *Kāṭh.*, while only *TS.* has *bhuvanapatí*. This distribution fits Pāṇini's preference for the former variant.

(86) 6.2.196 *vibhāṣotpucche*
6.2.197 *dvitribhyāṁ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau*
6.2.198 *sakthaṁ cākrāntāt*
[143 *antaḥ*]
[6.1.157 *udāttaḥ*]

Rule 6.2.196 allows marginal final accent on the word *utpuccha*, with the alternative of initial accent by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārthatṛtīyāsaptamyupamānāvyayadvitīyākṛtyāḥ*. Unfortunately, *utpuccha* is not attested in the accented literature. The following two rules assign final accent to *pād* 'foot', *dat* 'tooth' and *mūrdhan* 'head', after *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three' in a *bahuvrīhi* (197) and to *saktha* 'thigh' in a *bahuvrīhi*, except after *-kra* (198). The tradition continues *vibhāṣā* from 196 into these rules also. But according to our assumption that items like *vibhāṣā* are continued only by an otherwise redundant *ca* or by virtue of a later mention of *nityam*, the tradition should be wrong here. (Note that *ca* in 198 functions to continue *bahuvrīhau* from 197). This is confirmed by the facts, for words like *dvipā́d*, *tripā́d* (e.g. 29x in the *RV.*, with no counterexamples, and *dvípād*, *dvímūrdhan* only in *AV.*). Presumably, then, by Pāṇini's time the rarer variants *dvípād* ete. had completely disappeared from the language, but after the accents had been lost in Sanskrit and the meaning of Pāṇini's *vibhāṣā* and *anuvṛtti* conventions forgotten, some scholar found them in the *Atharvaveda* and accounted for them in the Pāṇinian system by reading *vibhāṣā* forward from 6.2.196.

(87) 6.3.16 *vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśaravarāt* [15 *je*]
6.3.17 *ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ* [16 *vibhāṣā*]
6.3.18 *śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt* [16 *vibhāṣā*]
[9 *saptamyāḥ*]
[1 *alug uttarapade*]

A locative case ending may marginally remain undeleted : after *varṣa* 'year', *kṣara* 'melting, vapour', *śara* 'reed', and *vara* 'space' before *ja* 'born' (16), after designations of time before *-tara*, *-tama*, *kāla*, 'time', and *-tana* (17), and after stems not designating time before *śaya* 'lying, dwelling', *vāsa*, *vāsin* 'dwelling' (18).

Of the cases specified in rule 16, only *varṣaja* is attested in Classical Sanskrit, which appears in the form preferred by Pāṇini. Before *kāla* (18), words designating time normally show up in the stem forms, e.g. *sandhyākāle* 'at sundown', *prabhātakāle* 'at dawn'. Indeed, Pāṇini himself uses *āsannakāle* (3.2.117) 'immediate (past) time', *pūrvakāle* (3.4.21) 'prior time'. (The cases before suffixes apparently can be documented only in *pragetana, prāhṇetana* 'matutinal', where the locative in the first member is obligatory anyway by virtue of being specially mentioned in 4.3.23 *sāyaṁciraṁprāhṇeprage'vyayebhyaṣ ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca.*) The third rule is more widely applicable. The stem form is more frequent than the locative, in accordance with Pāṇini's preference: *araṇyavāsin, -vāsa* 'forest dweller', *vanavāsin, -vāsa* 'grove dweller', *jalavāsin, -vāsa, ambuvāsin, udavāsin* 'water dweller', *parvatavāsin, girivāsin* 'mountain dweller', *tīrthavāsin* 'dweller in a holy place', *gṛhavāsin* 'house dweller', *bilavāsin, -vāsa* 'cave dweller', *kūpaśaya* 'well dweller', *bilaśaya* 'hole dweller', *jalaśaya* 'water dweller', *bhūmiśaya, bhūśaya* "dwelling on the ground, in the earth'. Locative forms are : *gṛhevāsin (TS.) antevāsin, -vāsa* 'dwelling near, advanced student', *vahyeśaya (RV.)* 'lying on a palanquin', *talpeśaya (AV.)* 'lying on a bed', *prosṭheśaya (RV.)* 'lying on a bench', *kuśeśaya* 'lying on Kuśa grass, water-lily', *śarakuṇḍeśaya* 'lying in a hollow place covered with Śara grass', *bileśaya* 'lying in a cave', *gosṭheśaya* 'living in a cow-stable', of which only *antevāsin* and *kuśeśaya* are frequent. (It seems that the compounds where *śaya* denotes the concrete notion of 'lying' prefer the locative form, whereas the compounds where it denotes more generally 'dwelling' prefer the stem form.) At any rate, the plain stem form is predominant.

In all three rules, Pāṇini's *vibhāṣā* refers to an option which the language treats as marginal.

(88) 6.3.24 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ* [23 *ṛto vidyāyonisaṁbandhebhyaḥ*] [21 *ṣaṣṭhyā*] [1 *alug uttarapade*]

The non-deletion of the genitive suffix in compounds after stems referring to class mates or blood relatives is a marginal option *(vibhāṣā)* before the second members *svasṛ* 'sister' and *pati* 'husband', e.g. *mātuḥsvasṛ* or (preferably) *mātṛṣvasṛ* 'mother's sister'. Logically, this is a case of double negation : *aluk vibhāṣā = na luk na vā = luk vā*. The forms with deleted case suffix which Pāṇini recommends, viz. *pitṛṣvasṛ, mātṛṣvasṛ* etc., are normal in Sanskrit literature, whereas *mātuḥsvasṛ* or *pituḥṣvasṛ*[58] and similar forms are rare (not quoted in BR, MW).

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[58] 8.3.85 *mātuḥpiturbhyām anyatarasyām.*

(**89**) 6.3.49 *vibhāṣā catvāriṁśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām* [48 *tres trayaḥ*] [47 *dvyaṣṭanaḥ saṁkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*] [46 *āṭ*]

The vowel *āT* can be, but is preferably not, substituted for the last segment of *dvi* 'two' and *aṣṭan* 'eight', and simultaneously *trayas* substituted for *tri*, in compound numerals before *catvāriṁśat* 'forty' and the following decades. I.e. *dvācatvāriṁśat* '42', *aṣṭācatvāriṁśat* '48', *trayaḥcatvāriṁśat* '43', and similarly *-pañcāśat*, etc., or (preferably) *dvi-*, *aṣṭa-*, *tricatvāriṁśat*, *-pañcāśat*, etc. According to Renou (1961, 383) the forms *dvā- tri- aṣṭā-* are more common in the optional cases. This is probably correct for *tri-/trayas-* (BR). As for *aṣṭa-* / *aṣṭā-*, the DC material supports Renou in *-catvāriṁśat* but not in the other decades: *aṣṭapañcāśat* 12x, *aṣṭāpañcāśat* 2x; *aṣṭaṣaṣṭi* 14x, *aṣṭāṣaṣṭi* 3x; *aṣṭasaptati* 5x, *aṣṭāsaptati* no citations; *aṣṭanavati* 4x, *aṣṭānavati* 7x. In the case of *dvi/dvā* the BR material suggests that *dvā* is more common, but there are not enough citations for reliable conclusions to be drawn. The DC slips were not consolidated for *d* when this work was being prepared, but they would undoubtedly provide the evidence required to settle the point. In conclusion, Pāṇini's preference generally agrees with Classical usage for the numerals 'three' and 'eight', but possibly not for 'two'.

(**90**) 6.3.51 *vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu* [50 *hṛdayasya hṛd*]

Hṛdaya 'heart' is preferably replaced by *hṛd* before *śoka* 'sorrow', before the suffix *ṢyaÑ* (*ya* with *vṛddhi* and initial accent of the stem), and before *roga* 'disease'. In compounds with *-śoka*: *hṛcchoka* 'heartache, grief' is attested in the *Paippalāda AV.*, *hṛdayaśoka* is not attested. In compounds with *-roga: hṛdroga* 'heart ailment, heartache' is attested in the *Ṛgveda*, in *Suśruta*, in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*, and elsewhere. and forms the basis of several derived words. Before the suffix *-ṢyaÑ: sauhārdya* 'friendship' occurs in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *sauhṛdayya* is not attested (BR, MW). Pāṇini's preference holds in Classical Sanskrit usage as well as Vedic.

(**91**) 6.3.72 *rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā* [67 *mum*]

Rātri 'night' can marginally get the augment *mUM* when compounded with a primary (*kṛt*) derivative. The augment is marginal also in Classical usage. I could find only *rātriṁcara* (Ep.), alongside *rātricara* 'night-wanderer'.

But there are many words without *-ṁ*: *rātrikara* (Inscr.) 'moon', *rātricaryā (Mbh.)*, *rātricāra (Śṛṅgār.)* 'nocturnal roving', *rātrijāgara (Ragh.)* 'night-watching', *rātribhṛt* (*Śulbas.*) 'one who maintains the *Dīksā* only for a few nights', *rātrirakṣaka (Kathās.)* 'night watchman', *rātrivihārin (Mālatīm.)* 'night-roving', *rātriśṛta (Kāty. Śr. S.)* 'cooked by night', *rātriśeṣa (Āśv. Gr. S.)* 'remainder of the night', *rātrisāman (ŚBr.)*, *rātriṣāmaṇ* (P.B.) 'Sāman belonging to the Atirātra', *rātrisattra (ŚrS.)* 'night sacrifice', *rātrisācaya (ŚBr.)* 'coming together at night'. Classical usage accords with Pāṇini.

(92) 6,3.82 *vopasarjanasya* [78 *sahasya saḥ*]

Saha preferably *(vā)* becomes *sa* when it is the *upasarjana*[59] of a compound — in practice, the first member of a *bahuvrīhi* compound. See p. 25. The facts of Classical Sanskrit are in complete accord with Pāṇini's recommendation : "... in the later language, the combinations with *sa* are much the more numerous" (Whitney Gr. 509).[60]

(93) 6.3.88 *vibhāṣodare* [87 *ye*] [84 *samānasya*] [78 *saḥ*]

Samāna 'joint, common' can marginally become *sa* compounded with *udara* 'womb' with the suffix *ya*. In fact, *sodarya* 'co-uterine' is by far the more common form beginning with the Sūtra literature. I could find *samānodarya* only in *Ait. Br.* 3.3.7. Pāṇini's preference here does not agree with Classical Sanskrit usage.

(94) 6.3.100 *arthe vibhāṣā* [99 *anyasya duk*]

The augment *dUK* ($= d$) can be marginally *(vibhāṣā)* inserted after *anya* 'other' compounded with *artha* 'thing, meaning' i.e. *anyadartha* and (preferably) *anyārtha*. The latter form is common (also in derivatives, such as the frequent noun *anyārthatva*) throughout the Classical language, from the *Sūtra* works on. The marginal option *anyadartha* is only cited from the late (17th c. A.D.) *Vīramitrodaya Saṁskāraprakāśa* (DC). Thus Pāṇini's preference accords with Classical Sanskrit usage in all periods.

(95) 6.3.106 *vibhāṣā puruṣe* [101 *koḥ*] [104 *kā*]

The pejorative prefix *ku* becomes *kā* marginally *(vibhāṣā)* before *puruṣa* 'man'. Only the variant favoured by Pāṇini,

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[59] 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṁ samāsa upasarjanam* "What is designated in the nominative case (in a compounding rule) is *upasarjana*".

[60] Renou (1961, 177) also presents *sa* as the normal form and *saha* as an occasional deviation.

kupuruṣa ' wretch, coward ' is attested in early Classical literature (*Avimāraka* 1.5, *Cārudatta* 1.28, *Pratimā* 5.18 — ca. 3rd c. A. D.). After 500 A. D. both forms become common (DC). Early Classical Sanskrit agrees with Pàṇini, but later Classical Sanskrit does not.

(96) 6.3.107 *kavaṁ coṣṇe* [106 *vibhāṣā*] [101 *koḥ*] [104 *kā*]

The same option holds before *uṣṇa* ' hot ' and in addition *ku* can also become *kava*, so that we get *koṣṇa*, *kavoṣṇa*, and *kaduṣṇa*[61] ' lukewarm '. Here the facts are less clear. All three words are reasonably common in Classical Sanskrit, and all three occur in early Classical texts. The earliest attested is *kavoṣṇa* (*Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*). but the commonest is *koṣṇa*. In this case, Classical Sanskrit is at variance with Pāṇini's preference.

(97) 6.4.18 *kramaś ca ktvi* [17 *vibhāṣā*] [6.3.111 *dīrghaḥ*]

Traditionally, *vibhāṣā* is continued from 17 as indicated. The vowel of the root *kram* ' proceed ' would, in that case, preferably not be lengthened before the gerund suffix *ktvā*, e. g. *krantvā* or (less preferably) *krāntvā*. In fact, however, *krantvā* never occurs, whereas *krāntvā* is exceedingly common. Pāṇini's rule can be reconciled with the Sanskrit facts by assuming that *vibhāsā*, contrary to tradition, is not continued in this rule. But in that case, what is the function of the rule ? The root *kram* is one of the roots which have a diacritic *U* in their underlying representation, which effects optional insertion of the augment *iṬ* before the gerund suffix *Ktvā* by 7.2.56 *udito vā* (see below on that rule). The gerunds of *kram* are *krāntvā* and *kramitvā* (both well attested in literature). Here lengthening is achieved by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ kṅiti*, which lengthens a vowel before a nasal if a consonantal suffix with diacritic *K* or *Ṅ* follows. Therefore this rule is problematic.

(98) 6.4.32 *jāntanaśāṁ vibhāṣā* [31 *ktvi*]
6.4.33 *bhañjeś ca ciṇi* [32 *vibhāṣā*] [23 *nalopaḥ*]

The *n* of roots ending in *j* and of *na(n) ś* ' perish ' can marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be deleted before the gerund *Ktvā* (e.g. *naṁṣṭvā* or *naṣṭvā*). The same goes by 33 for *bhañj* ' break ' before 3. sg. aor. pass. ending *CiṆ* (*abhañji* or *abhāji*). In the cases covered by the first rule, a clear preference for the *n*-forms is apparent in Sanskrit usage : *bhaṅktvā* ' having broken ' and *aṅktvā* ' having anointed ' are overwhelmingly favoured over *bhaktvā* and *aktvā* in literature.[62] As for the second rule, neither form is found in the older literature, while *abhāji* is found a few times in later artificial works (*Śiś.*, *Haravijaya*).

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[61] From *ku* + *uṣṇa* (with neither of the optional processes applied) by 6.3.101 *koḥ kat tatpuruṣe 'ci.*

(99) 6.4.38 *vā lyapi* [37 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopaḥ*]

The final nasal of roots which are unaccented in the underlying representation, and of the roots *van*, *tan* etc., is preferably (*vā*) deleted before the gerund suffix *LyaP*, e.g. *āgatya*[63] or (less preferably) *āgamya*. In Vedic, deletion is not merely preferable but obligatory for all these roots (W. 2.2, 783). In the Classical language, roots in *-m* allow both treatments, though at least for *gam* deletion is clearly favoured, e.g. *āgatya* being much more common than *āgamya* (DC). Moreover, roots in *n* always lose the nasal even in Classical Sanskrit, e.g. *āhatya*, not *āhanya*, a subregularity which Pāṇini missed but Kātyāyana pointed out in *Vt*. 1,2 on 6.4.37. If all the nasal roots are considered together as Pāṇini did, deletion is strongly favoured in Classical Sanskrit, in agreement with Pāṇini's rule.

(100) 6.4.43 *ye vibhāṣā* [42 *janasanakhanām*] [41 *āt*] [37 *kṅiti*]
6.4.44 *tanoter yaki* [43 *vibhāṣā*] [41 *āt*]

The final *n* of the roots *jan* 'be born', *san* 'attain', *khan* 'dig' can marginally (*vibhāṣā*) become *ā* before a suffix with diacritic *K* or *Ṅ* beginning with *y*, e.g. pass. *khāyate* or (preferably) *khanyate*.[64] The root *san* practically disappears in Classical Sanskrit, and neither *sāyate* nor *sanyate* seems to be attested in the earlier language. In the other two verbs, however, the evidence is clearer. The form *khanyate* is overwhelmingly favoured in Classical Sanskrit.[65] The option *khāyate* is, in practice, restricted to Vedic (*TS*. 6.2.11.1, *ŚB*. 3.5.4.1), though we must assume on the strength of Pāṇini's rule that it had not quite died out in his time. As for *jan*, *janyate*[66] appears to be the usual form of the passive, while *jāyate* (of course much more frequent as a form) generally denotes the simple intransitive senses ' is born, comes into existence, becomes '. Unfortunately, data from the *Sūtras* and other contemporary works is lacking.

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[62] *bhaṅktvā* is very common in the Epics and other Classical literature, *aṅktvā* is common in the *Sūtras*. The reduced forms are rarer (*ŚB*.. *AĀ*.). Renou (1961, 125) cites *maṅktvā* from the *Haravijaya*.

[63] With consequent insertion of the augment *tUK* on the suffix by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*.

[64] However, *jan* in the most common case stands before the present suffix *ŚyaN* where it turns to *jā* by the special rule 7.3.79 *jñājanor jā* viz. *jāyate* 'is born, comes into being'. Whitney (*Roots*) cites no other occurrences before *y*-suffixes.

[65] Attested in *Mbh.*, *R.*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Pāṇḍavacarita*, *Śābarabhāṣya*, *Suvarṇasaptati*, *Vedāntakalpataru*, *Hastyāyurveda*, *Daśāvatāracarita*, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *Sūktiratnahāra*, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

(101) 6.4.44 *tanoter yaki*
6.4.45 *sanaḥ ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām* | [43 *vibhāṣā*] [41 *āt*]

The same marginal replacement of root-final *n* by *ā* as in 43 is extended to *tan* ' stretch ' before the passive suffix *yaK* (44) and to *san* ' attain ' before *KtiC* (= *ti* with weak grade of the root). In the latter case, a third option, of simply deleting the final nasal, is introduced (45). This gives *santi* or *sati* and, marginally *sāti*.

This, at least, is the traditional interpretation of the rule. Thieme (1955, 208) doubts whether *vibhāṣā* is really continued into 45. He proposes to read it as giving two options only, viz. *sāti (sanaḥ ktici)* and *sati (lopaś cānyatarasyām)*. In support of this he observes that *santi* is unattested, and suggests that it is also an unlikely form. Also, Patañjali appears to think that only these two forms are to be derived (3, 198; Kātyāyana makes no comment on the rule). These arguments are not particularly strong. The non-occurrence of *santi* does not mean much in view of the fact that even *sati*, which definitely is to be derived here, is also unattested, and *sāti* is only found in Vedic. The whole root *san* scarcely survives after the Vedic period, and all the words in question must have been disappearing already in Pāṇini's time. Nor do I agree that *santi* is an implausible form, since other *KtiC* derivatives from roots in *-n*, such as *tantí* from *tan* especially mentioned by Pāṇini in 6.4.39 and of frequent occurrence, would have provided a ready model for deriving *santí* from *san*. And the fact that Patañjali assumes a certain interpretation cannot in itself be used as evidence in favour of that interpretation, as will be argued in Ch. 7 below.

Still, the arguments for continuing *vibhāṣā* and deriving all three forms are also weak. The main point is that *anyatarasyām* would otherwise be redundant in the rule, since the two forms *sāti* and *sati* could have been obtained without it : *sanaḥ ktici* (viz. *āt*) *lopaś ca* ' *āT* is substituted for

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[66] *Yogavāsiṣṭha, Bṛhatkathākośa, Tattvabindu, Prakaraṇapañcikā, Ṭupṭīkā*, Umbeka on *Ślokavārttika*, etc. (DC).

(the last segment of) *san*, and *lopa* ' zero ' is (alternatively) substituted for it '. Another consideration is that if 45 has *vibhāṣā* from 43, then so does 44. This means that *tanyate* would be derived as the preferred passive of *tan*, with *tāyate* the marginal variant. The situation in literature is rather similar as that noted for *khan* above : Vedic has only *tāyate*, later Classical Sanskrit has predominantly *tanyate*, e. g. *Mallināthacarita*, *Tarkakaumudī*, *Nyāyamālāvistara*, *Vedāntakalpataru*, *Śivap*. 1.16.100 (where it stands next to *janyate*), and in many other late texts (DC). From early Classical texts there is very little data (*tāyate* in *Gobh*. *Smṛ*. 2.47).

To complicate the problem further, there is also a synonymous root *tāy* belonging to the first conjugation which could also serve as a source for *tāyate*. The solution depends on deciding whether the shift from obligatory *tāyate* (Vedic) to preferred *tanyate* (late Classical) had already taken place in Pāṇini's time. In the absence of sufficient contemporary data, that question must unfortunately be left open.

(102) 6.4.61 *vākrośadainyayoḥ* [60 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe*] [59 *kṣiyaḥ*] [58 *dīrghaḥ*]

The *i* of *kṣi* ' waste ' is preferably *(vā)* lengthened before the *niṣṭhā* suffixes (pp. *Kta* and fut.p. *KtavatU*) to express a curse or misery, e.g. *kṣīṇa*[67] or (less preferably) *kṣita*. The pp. *kṣīṇa* ' wasted, emaciated, decayed ' is extremely common in Classical Sanskrit, also in numerous compounds, e.g. *kṣīṇārtha* ' impoverished '. Including derivatives and compounds, DC has several hundred citations of *kṣīṇa* from Classical Sanskrit, against four of *kṣita*.[68] Thus Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

(103) 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe 'jjhanagrahadṛśāṁ vā ciṇvad iṭ ca*

Roots which end underlyingly in a vowel, and *han* 'kill', *grah* ' seize ', *dṛś* ' see ', in the impersonal and passive when before future and conditional *sya*, aorist *sIC*, precative *sīyUṬ*, and periphrastic future *tāsI*, preferably get the form they have in the 3 sg. aor. pass. in *CiṆ*, and the suffixes are then augmented with *iṬ*. Other than this special 3. sg. aorist passive in *CiṆ*, e.g. *acāyi* 'was piled', *adarśi* 'was seen', *amoci* 'was liberated' and the forms built on them in accord with the rule under discussion, Sanskrit has no special passive verb forms outside of the present tense system. The passive must be supplied by the ordinary middle forms, e. g. fut. *mokṣyate* 'will be liberated', aor. (3. pl.) *amucata* 'was liberated', imperf. *amuce*. In certain tenses of certain verbs, the present rule allows, beside the ordinary middle forms used passively, such as fut. *ceṣyate* 'will be piled', *haviṣyate* 'will be killed', *grahīṣyate* 'will be seized', *drakṣyate* 'will be seen', as a preferred alternative also forms with the stem morphology of the 3. sg. aorist passive in *CiṆ*, e. g. *cāyiṣyate* (on the analogy of *acāyi*), *ghāniṣyate* (on the analogy of *aghāni*), *grāhiṣyate* (on the analogy of *agrāhi*), *darśiṣyate* (on the analogy of *adarśi*).

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[67] With *ta* → *na* by the special rule 8.2.46 *kṣiyo dīrghāt*.

[68] The preceding rule 6.4.60 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe* makes the lengthening obligatory otherwise, i. e. when a curse or misery is not expressed, which accounts for the fact that *kṣita* is never used in the sense " slender, delicate ", which sometimes occurs for *kṣīṇa*. It also restricts the lengthening to cases where -*Kta* does not have a future sense (*aṇyadarthe*), which accounts for the Vedic *akṣita* ' imperishable '.

This rule was discussed in the controversy between Whitney (1884) and Liebich (1891). Although Whitney had found some cases in literature of the special passive forms introduced by Pāṇini in this rule, these were so few in number that he was tempted to dismiss them as spurious and deny the existence of the whole formation in genuine Sanskrit. More examples have been cited by Renou (1961, 466, 471, 492), along with examples of middle forms with passive value, which according to him are 'quite frequent in the texts, especially in the future and in the epics'. Of the middle forms he cites the following are relevant : *ājñāpayiṣat (a) (Ch.U.), pyāyayiṣṭhāḥ (U.)* (I am unable to locate these words) *darśayiṣyanti (Mahāvīracarita)*, *kārayitā* (*Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* 20.163), *smariṣyate* (ibid. 20.340), *mariṣyate* (*Bharaṭakadvātriṁśikā* 26), *parājayiṣata (Daś.)*; the last is marked by Renou as "not certain". The other middle forms in passive use cited by Renou do not count here because they are either from roots where the middle must be used even according to Pāṇini, as his rule provides no special passive form *(ayaṁsata, parihāsyati, mokṣyate, āhlādayiṣata)* or taken from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya (akṛṣātam, ayaṁsata)*, or totally non-Pāṇinian *(dīyiṣyati, dīṣyati, nīṣyati, aghātayithāḥ)*. As agṇinst these middle forms in passive use, Renou cites the special passive forms *asthāyiṣi* (*Daś.* 82.10), *adhāyiṣi* (*Daś.* 81.9), *anāyiṣata* (*Kuvalayānanda, Ind. Sprüche* 6187), *grāhiṣyate* (*Rājat.* 7.1634), *ghāniṣyate* (*Mahāvīracarita* 4, 6; this form is also used by Patañjali).

In Vedic, both cases appear to be exceedingly rare. Of middles used passively under the conditions of the present rule, Delbrück (1885, 265) cites only *adhita* 'it has been put in' (*ŚB.* 12.4.1.7) — a somewhat special case because it corresponds to the real passive *dhīyate* 'it is put in' in an adjacent parallel sentence, and three forms of *stu* 'praise': *(viprebhir) astoṣṭa* (*RV.* 1.77.5), *(ṛṣibhiḥ) staviṣyase* (*RV.* 8.70.14) — and *(kena) stoṣyāmahe* (*ŚB.* 8.4.3.2), also a special case because the middle *stu* has a passive meaning even in the *present* tense (*RV.* 1.12.11, 1.31.8, 7.36.5). Delbrück himself states that the passive use of the aorist (outside of the third singular) is rare. The special passives are represented only by *ākhyāyiṣyante* (*JB.*) and by the dubious *ghāniṣṭhāḥ* (*AV. Paipp.* 16.36.6), on which see Renou (1957, 109) and Narten (1964, 103, fn. 265).

It seems that there is at all stages in the language a tendency to avoid using finite verbs passively outside of the present and the 3. sg. aorist. In Vedic we may almost say that the passive expression is not available in the aorist (outside of the third person singular) and in the future. (The perfect middle allows passive interpretation somewhat more readily, cf. Delbrück 1885, 264-5.) The historical background to this rule of Pāṇini's is perhaps as follows. When the use of the passive voice began to spread in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, there was increasing pressure to make available a full passive paradigm in all tenses. The problem was solved in part by recruiting the middle forms for passive use, and in part by building a set of special passive forms on the old 3. sg. aorist in *-i*, as provided in the present Pāṇinian rule. In Classical Sanskrit, the effacement of the distinctions between the past tenses and the decreasing use of finite verbs lessened the need for such special passives. In the aorist, both the old 3.sg. in *-i* (*akāri*) and the newly developed complete paradigm built on it (1. sg. *akāriṣi*, etc.), which had scarcely yet been able to gain a foothold in the language, gave way in the relaxed Sanskrit of Epics and stories to the ordinary construction *tena kṛtam*. The fancier forms continue to be used somewhat in more elevated style (Renou 1961, 441). Thus, the forms introduced in this rule may have constituted an expanding category only in the relatively short period between the spread of the passive and the decay of the tense system — a period in which Pāṇini happens to fall. This would explain why the forms he introduces as preferred variants in this rule are so weakly documented in the literature.

(**104**) 6.4.80 *vā'mśasoḥ* [79 *striyāḥ*] [77 *aci, iyaṅuvaṅau*]

The *-ī* of *strī* ' woman ' preferably becomes *iy* before the case suffixes *-am* (Acc. sg.) and *-Śas* (Acc. pl.), viz. *striyam, striyaḥ*. The less favoured option of not applying the rule results in contraction of *ī* + *a* to *ī* viz. *strīm, strīḥ*, by 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* (more accurately, for *-am* by the special rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*). The forms *strīm, strīḥ* do not exist at all in the older language. They begin to appear only in Classical Sanskrit (W. 3, 182), cf. Eichner 1974 for the history of this word, with a survey of the forms found in early literature on pp. 32–35. But even there they never attained the popularity of the older forms. *Striyam, striyaḥ* remain " better attested than *strīm strīḥ* " in Classical Sanskrit (Renou 1961, 356). Pāṇini's preference thus holds in Classical Sanskrit usage.

(**105**) 6.4.91 *vā cittavirāge* [90 *doṣo ṇau*] [89 *ūd upadhāyāḥ*]

The root *duṣ* ' spoil ' gets a long *ū* in the penult (instead of *guṇa* by the general rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) before the causative suffix *Ṇi(C)*. The process is ordinarily obligatory by 6.4.90 *doṣo ṇau*, but the present rule makes it optional, though still preferred, in the sense of *cittavirāga* ' mental perturbation ' (glossed *cittavikārārthe* by the *Kāśikā*). The marginal option, *doṣayati*, is not attested (BR), while *dūṣayati* is found in this meaning in such expressions as *durjanadūṣitamanasaḥ* ' with his mind intimidated by evil people ' (*Hit*. 4.108), *dūṣitahṛdayaḥ* ' with his heart overcome (with fright) ' (*Hit*. 2.64), *anutthānadūṣita* ' dissipated through not getting up (in the morning) ' (*Rājat*. 5.253), *manyudūṣita* ' embittered ' (*Rājat*. 6.197). The variant *doṣayati* is not allowed in the concrete sense of ' spoiling, disfiguring ' : a typical instance of the universal tendency to regularize inflection in metaphorical uses. Compare, for example, English *the car weaved in the traffic* (maneuvered around other cars) vs. *the weaver wove a mat* (the literal meaning). The marginal status which Pāṇini's rule assigns to this morphological innovation is confirmed by the literature.

(**106**) 6.4.163 *vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ*

See above, p. 52, for some discussion of this option in early Classical Sanskrit.

(**107**) 7.1.7 *vetter vibhāṣā* [6 *ruṭ*] [3 *jhaḥ*]

The 3.pl. suffix *jha* (= *anta* by 7.1.3 *jho 'ntaḥ*) can marginally get the augment *rUṬ* after the root *vid* (*vetti* 'know'). 3. pl. forms like *vidate, vidata* are decidedly more common than *vidrate, vidrata.* Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's rule.

(**108**) 7.1.69 *vihhāṣā ciṇṇamuloḥ* [68 *na*] [64 *labheḥ*] [58 *num*]

The augment *nUM* is added to the root *labh* 'take' before a vocalic suffix by 7.1.64 *labheś ca* [61 *aci*]. By the present rule, *nUM* can marginally fail to be added *(vibhāṣā na)* before the passive aorist suffix *CiṆ* and the absolutive suffix *ṆamUL,* viz. *alābhi lābham* or (preferably) *alambhi, lambham. Na* is continued by *anuvṛtti* into the present rule by the principles explained above in Ch. 2, pp. 46–47 (this is an instance of the third type discussed there).

The normal form appears to be the one with the nasal augment, viz. *ālambham : Pañcav. B.* 3.6.2, 18.10.10, *Kāṭh.* 22.8, *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁh.* 35.2; *ālabham* (irregularly without *vṛddhi*) *: MS.* 3.10.2, *alābhi* only in *Śiś.* The later commentators indeed take the nasal form as obligatory with prefixes, and take the rule as a limited option *(vyavasthitavibhāṣā)* holding for the simple verb only. Presumably such prefixed forms of the type *ālābham, ālābhi* as may have existed in Pāṇini's time had disappeared entirely in the later Sanskrit of these commentators. But judging from the early literature they must have been rare even then, which agrees with their designation as marginal by Pāṇini.

(**109**) 7.1.79 *vā napuṁsakasya* [78 *na abhyastāc chatuḥ*]
[58 *num*]
7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num* [79 *vā*] [78 *śatuḥ*] [58 *num*]
See p. 10 for discussion of these rules.

(**110**) 7.1.91 *ṇal uttamo vā* [90 *ṇit*]

The ending *ṆaL* of the first and third persons singular in the perfect tense is inherently provided with a diacritic *Ṇ*, which causes *vṛddhi* in the final vowel or penultimate *a* of the root by 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ.* According to the present rule, this marking with *Ṇ* is only optional, though preferred, in the first (Pāṇini's last) person, so that we can have, besides 1. sg. *papāca,* also *papaca* as a marginal variant, while 3. sg. *papāca* is obligatory.

As far as pre-Classical Sanskrit is concerned, the preference is on the contrary for the forms without *vṛddhi :* " In the earlier language, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these two rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use : thus, 1st only *bibháya*, *tatápa*; 3d *bibhā́ya*, *tatā́pa*. Exceptions are *cakāra* and *jagrāha* (doubtful reading) in *AV*., *cakāra* in *AŚS*. and *BĀU*. (*ŚB. cakara*), *jigāya* in *AŚS*., as first persons." (Whitney, p. 283). To this add *vi vavāra* " I revealed " (*TS* 3.5.5).

In Pāṇinian Sanskrit, unfortunately for our purpose, the perfect tense becomes limited to express only that which has not been witnessed by the speaker (3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*). According to Speijer (1886, 247), " the practice of good authors is generally in accordance with this statement ". Consequently, there is practically no opportunity of using a first person perfect form in a syntactically legitimate way, and such forms " are hardly met with in Classical Sanskrit " (Speijer 1886, 251, cf. Renou 1961, 458). This fact was noticed already by Patañjali, who points out that no matter how the stipulation that the action be " not witnessed " is understood, the first person forms of the perfect cannot be derived (*sarvathottamo na sidhyati*, 3.2.115, II. 120). He finally comes up with the case of unconscious acts, as in the sentence *supto 'haṁ kila vilalāpa* " I babbled in my sleep, they say ", where the first person of the perfect is supposedly admissible because the action has not actually been witnessed by the subject. For what it is worth, Patañjali uses the *vṛddhi* form *vilalāpa*, as recommended in Pāṇini's rule.

Other 1. sg. perfect forms in the texts are *vivyātha* (*R*. 4.11.48*), *śaśāka* (*R*. 7.77.3), with *vṛddhi*, vs. *jagada*, *cakara* (both *Śiś*. 9.39). The latter forms occur in a passage which is practically an illustration of Patañjali's discussion mentioned above, so that they are testimonies to the author's learning rather than to Sanskrit usage.

Perhaps we may understand the development as follows : In the Vedic period, the perfect, being not yet restricted to non-witnessed events, was sufficiently common in all persons that the original length distinction between 1. sg. *papaca* and 3. sg. *papāca* served a useful function in keeping the two persons apart, so that it was retained during this time. When the perfect later became semantically so restricted that the occasion for using first person perfect forms rarely arose, the length distinction lost its " functional load ", and the first person singular moreover became too infrequent for its exceptional short vowel to be retained. Accordingly, it was assimilated to the more common third person singular form. This change was evidently taking place during the time of Pāṇini.

(111) 7.1.97 *vibhāṣā tṛtīyādiṣv aci* [95 *tṛjvad kroṣṭuḥ*]

The *u*-stem *kroṣṭu* ' jackal ' can marginally *(vibhāṣā)* be treated as an *ṛ*-stem (ending in *-tṛC*) before vocalic suffixes of the Instrumental and following cases, e.g. Gen. sg. *kroṣṭu + as → kroṣṭuḥ* or (preferably) *kroṣṭoḥ*. In Classical literature, the *u*-stem inflection is clearly favoured, in accord with Pāṇini's preference, e.g. gen. sg. *kroṣṭoḥ* (as a proper noun) *Vāyup*. 1.1.131, 2.33.14, *Viṣṇup*. 4.12.1, *Saurap*. 31.50, *Hariv*. 24.1, 26.1.

(112) 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ* [6 *vibhāṣā*] [4 *na, iṭi*] [1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*]

The vowel *a* in a root beginning with a consonant and ending with a single consonant can marginally not get *vṛddhi* before the aorist suffix *sIC* with the augment *iṬ* (the " *iṣ*-aorist ") in the active voice. This rule applies to roots which are of the form *(C) CaC* in underlying representations, such as *mad* ' exhilarate ', e.g. 3 sg. *amādīt*, 3. pl. *amādiṣuḥ* :

		a + mad + sIC + tiP
1.3.9	*tasya lopaḥ*	*a + mad + s + ti*
3.4.100	*itaś ca*	*a + mad + s + t*
7.2.35	*ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*	*a + mad + is + t*
7.3.96	*astisico 'pṛkte*	*a + mad + is + īt*
7.2.7	*ato halāder laghoḥ*	*a + mād + is + īt* (optionally)
8.2.28	*iṭa īṭi*	*a + mād + i + īt*
6.1.101	*akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*	*a + mād + īt*

The rule is not applicable to roots which are of the form (C) CV, where V = *i, u, ṛ*. They receive *vṛddhi* of the root vowel before the aorist suffix by 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*. This *vṛddhi* is not blocked in the presence of the augment *iṬ* by the prohibition 7.2.4 *neṭi*. This prohibition is restricted to the previous rule 7.2.3. Thus, from *a + pū + sIC + tiP* we derive *a + pau + is + īt* (7.2.1) and then *a + pāv + is + īt* (6.1.78 *eco 'yavāyāvaḥ*). Therefore the application of 7.2.7 to give optional *vṛddhi* in connection with vowel-ending roots does not arise at all.

In both types of cases, other rules specify exceptions to 7.2.7 and 7.2.1 where *vṛddhi* is either inapplicable or obligatory. According to 7.2.5 *hmyantakṣaṇaśvasajāgṛṇiśvye-*

ditām, *vṛddhi* is inapplicable in roots ending in *h*, *m* and *y* (e.g. *agrahīt* ‘ seized ’, *akramīt* ‘ strode ’) as well as in the roots *kṣaṇ* ‘ wound ’, *śvas* ‘ blow ’, *jāgṛ* ‘ be awake ’, roots ending in the causative suffix *ṆiC*, the root *śvi* ‘ swell ’ and roots with diacritic *E*. The mention of *ṆiC*, *śvi* and *jāgṛ* prevents *vṛddhi* by 7.2.1 from applying to such stages in derivation as *a* + *dhvan* + *i* + *iṣ* + *īt*, *a* + *śvi* + *iṣ* + *īt*, *a* + *jāgṛ* + *iṣ* + *īt*. We derive *a* + *dhvan* + *e* + *iṣ* + *īt*, *a* + *śve* + *iṣ* + *īt*, *a* + *jāgar* + *iṣ* + *īt* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*). From this we derive *a* + *dhvan* + *ay* + *īt*, *a* + *śvay* + *īt*, *a* + *jāgar* + *īt* (6.1.78, 8.2.28, 6.1.101). The rule 7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya* makes *vṛddhi* obligatory in roots ending in *r* and *l* (e.g. *jval* ‘ burn ’, *ajvālīt*). Also 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* makes *vṛddhi* obligatory for the roots *vad* ‘ say ’ and *vraj* ‘ go ’, which would otherwise fall under the option of 7.2.7. Finally, *vṛddhi* is automatically inapplicable in roots which are disyllabic in underlying representations, ending in a vowel which, though deleted, is still counted as being present by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*, so that they do not satisfy the condition of 7.2.7 requiring roots ending in single consonants. This guarantees the short *a* in cases like *avadhīt* ‘ killed ’, with disyllabic *vadha* as a suppletive root replacing *han* by 2.4.43 *luṅi ca*.

Setting aside all these special cases where the option of 7.2.7 is cancelled, does the literature prefer the *vṛddhi* forms which Pāṇini recommends in his rule? The answer is clearly, yes. The relevant Vedic and *Sūtra* material can be handily excerpted from Narten’s study of the *s*-aorist (1964). Some further examples from the Classical language can be added, but they are few in number, because the category we are dealing with was basically established in the Vedic period, and retained only a limited productivity in later Sanskrit (Whitney, p. 321, para 903).

From any one root, not more than a few *iṣ*-aorist forms are attested. The following occur with *lengthening* only : *kan* ‘ enjoy ’, *tan* ‘ stretch ’, *tras* ‘ fear ’, *das* ‘waste’, *mad* ‘ exhilarate ’, *san* ‘ attain ’, *stan* ‘ thunder ’, and al roots in *ū̆*, viz. *pū* ‘ purify ’, *yu* ‘ ward off ’, *ru* ‘ wound ’, *ru* ‘ cry ’, *sū̆* ‘ impel ’, *stu* ‘ praise ’. Lengthening is *preferred* in *jap* ‘ mutter ’. One long and one short form each is attested in the roots *ran* ‘ enjoy ’ and *svan* ‘ sound ’. A *short* vowel only is attested in *gras* ‘ devour ’ (Class.), *dhvan* 'sound', *van* 'win' (Narten argues that the sole example which occurs is an artificial form), *vaś* (Ep.), *śnath* 'pierce'.[69] Overall, the long forms are clearly favoured. It is interesting that the two new post-Vedic cases (*gras, vaś*) show the short form, which Pāṇini brands as marginal. Thus, here as so often, the older language conforms to Pāṇini's preference, but later Classical Sanskrit begins to diverge from it.

(**113**) 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*

An obligatory rule—the only such rule to contain a word for "optionally". The function of *vibhāṣā* here is not to specify the modality of the rule but to specify the conditions under which it applies. It is one of a set of rules which prohibit the addition of the *iṬ* augment to a following *niṣṭhā* suffix (*-ta* or *-tavat*). It restricts the general rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya iḍ valādeḥ*, which calls for *iṬ* to be added in the front of any *ārdhadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant (except *y*). In the entire sequence of restrictive rules to which the present rule belongs (7.2.8–26) *na* and *iṭ* are carried through by *anuvṛtti*.[70] As traditionally interpreted, the rule says that a root after which *iṭ* is optional in (at least) some suffixes, does not allow *iṭ* to be added at all to a following *niṣṭhā* suffix (pp. *-ta* (pass.) *-tavat* (act.)). For example, according to 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā*, certain verbs, e.g. *sūti* 'gives birth', preferably (*vā*) take suffixes without *iṬ*. In the past participle *sūta*, the absence of *iṬ* is therefore obligatory by 7.2.15.

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[69] In addition, there are some forms not derivable at all in the Pāṇinian system, which I have left out above: *aṣṭhāviṣam* (from *ṣṭhiv*), *agrabhīt* (the Pāṇinian form of this root is *grah*, which falls under the prohibition of lengthening by 7.2.5), Class. *adalīt* (against 7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya*). More importantly, I have excluded aorist subjunctive forms, usually with a short vowel, for they also do not fit into the Pāṇinian system, e.g. *vyathiṣat*, *saniṣat*. I have also left out *ahanīt* (*JB*), which goes against 2.4.43 *luṅi ca*, and *asādīt* (*TA*), both of which Narten shows to be false readings, and *asrāvīt*, which Narten derives from *sriv* (her "*srīv / srū*"), though Pāṇini may well have thought that the form comes from *sru*.

It may be noted here that the preceding rule 7.2.6 *ūrṇoter vibhāṣā* expresses a similar preference for *vṛddhi* in the aorist of *ūrṇu* 'cover, i.e. *aurṇāvīt* or (less preferably) *aurṇavīt*. The form preferred by Pāṇini is cited by Renou (1961, 447) from the *Śiśupālavadha*, but it has also *aurṇaviṣuḥ* (20.14), and *Rāvaṇārjunīya* 22.7 has both *aurṇavīt* and *aurṇāvīt*. These texts are playing with the grammatical options here and give us no evidence for genuine preferences in usage.

[70] From 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti* "a *kṛt*-suffix beginning with a voiced consonant gets no *iṭ*."

We will return to the interpretation of this rule after a closer look at the rules governing optional *iṬ* (p. 156). We merely note for now that regularities of this type are well-known in the morphology of other languages too, and they are represented in generative grammars by means of redundancy rules expressing implicational relations between different processes. This particular rule is certainly not strange when we consider the history behind the phenomenon. The complicated behaviour of *iṬ* in Sanskrit is the outcome of a long development. Whether a root was *seṭ* or *aniṭ*, originally depended just on its phonological form. The *iṬ* augment on the suffix is really the Sanskrit reflex of the root-final Indo-European laryngeal consonant, which was vocalized to *ə* before consonants and deleted before vowels if the root had *guṇa* grade. Subsequently the *i* became reinterpreted as dependent on morphological factors and intruded gradually into the paradigms of verbs which had never ended in laryngeals in Indo-European[71]. Therefore, the optional *iṬ* which Pāṇini allows in many verb forms is nearly always an innovation from a historical point of view. Now, of all verb forms with *ārdhadhātuka* suffixes, the past participles are the most resistant to change, presumably because of their great frequency. Therefore, if any form has retained the original absence of *iṬ* in a paradigm, that is most likely to be the past participle. And this is the generalization which Pāṇini's rule brings out.[72]

(114) 7.2.27 *vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ* [8 *na iṭ*]

The cited past participles preferably (*vā*) do not take *iṬ*. As noted in Ch. 2, that is why Pāṇini mentions them in that form and not with *iṬ*. Usage in Classical Sanskrit supports the same preference. Whitney (*Roots*) cites *dānta*, *śānta*, *pūrṇa*, *jñapta* (they are in fact common) but not *damita*, *śamita*, *pūrita*, *jñapita*.

(115) 7.2.30 *apacitaś ca* [27 *vā*] [8 *na iṭ*]

The same kind of case as the preceding rule 7.2.27. In grammatical works the participle is glossed as 'honoured'; in literature, it almost always means 'depleted, diminished'.

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[71] This was discovered by Saussure, whose classic *Mémoire* is still enlightening reading. The Sanskrit facts are treated from this point of view in W. 2, 2.

[72] Because there are verbs which do not follow this generalization exactly, Pāṇini has to add some minor rules to regulate the appearance of *iṬ* in them, e.g. 7.2.27 (the next rule treated here).

The form *apacita*, preferred by Pāṇini, is common in Classical Sanskrit, and occurs even in some early works; *Caraka* (2nd c. A. D.), *Śakuntalā* (4th c. A. D.), Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The marginal variant *apacāyita* is cited only once from the 13th c. Jain text *Surathotsava*, a repository of other recherché grammatical forms (see e.g. 7.2.50 below).

(116) 7.2.41 *iṭ sani vā* [39 *na*]

The augment *iṬ* is preferably (*vā*) not added to the desiderative suffix *saN* after the root *vṛ* and after roots in long *ṝ*, e.g. *titīrṣati* or *titariṣati* 'wants to pass', from *tṝ*. The purpose of repeating *iṬ* is to cancel *dīrgha* 'long' which has continued from 37 up to the preceding rule. The present rule also blocks the insertion of long *ī* by 7.2.38 *vṝto vā*—contrary to tradition, which also allows a third option *titarīṣati* to be derived. But the traditional interpretation cannot be defended on formal grounds, and has no factual support either, for desideratives with -*ī* from such roots do not occur in the literature. Of the forms without *iṬ*, Whitney (*Roots*) cites *tistīrṣate* and *tustūrṣate* from *stṝ* 'strew', *titīrṣati* (common) and *tutūrṣati* from *tṝ* 'pass'. With *iṬ*, there is only the stem *śiśariṣa-* in derivatives of *śṝ* 'crush', cited only from Classical texts. The *iṬ* forms, then, are comparatively rare, so that Pāṇini's preference for the forms without *iṬ* can be said to be continued in Classical Sanskrit.

(117) 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā* [39 *na*]
7.2.45 *rudhādibhyaś ca* [44 *vā*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]
7.2.46 *niraḥ kuṣaḥ* [44 *vā*]

A number of verbs preferably (*vā*) get no *iṬ* on their consonantal *ārdhadhātuka* suffixes: *svarati* 'sound', *sūti* and *sūyati* 'give birth', *dhūÑ* 'shake', and roots with diacritic *Ū*, such as *aśŪ* 'attain', *syandŪ* 'flow', *añjŪ* 'anoint', *gupŪ* 'protect' (44); the roots *rudh* 'obstruct', *naś* 'be destroyed', *tṛp* 'be pleased', *dṛp* 'rave', *druh* 'be hostile', *muh* 'be demented', *snuh* 'vomit', *snih* 'be sticky, love' (45); and *niṣ* + *kuṣ* 'pull out' (46).

Of the roots which come under 44, the following are more commonly used without *iṬ*: *añj* 'anoint', *aś* 'attain,' *kliś* 'distress', *kṣam* 'endure', *gup* 'protect', *tṛ(ṁ)h* 'crush', *tvakṣ* 'fashion', *mṛj* 'wipe', *vraśc* 'hew', *sidh* 'repel', *syand* 'flow', *sū* 'give birth'. In the roots *svar* 'sound', *dhūÑ* 'shake', both *iṬ* and non-*iṬ* forms show up with some frequency. The remaining roots do not have enough relevant forms attested to decide the matter. No root clearly prefers *iṬ*.

Rule 45 specifies eight roots.. Of these, *muh* 'obstruct', *tṛp* 'be pleased', *druh* 'be hostile' definitely tend to be used without *iṬ*. The root *naś* 'perish' has both forms, and the others are too rare to reveal any trend in this respect. No root clearly prefers *iṬ*.

The combination *niṣ* + *kuṣ* 'tear out' (Rule 46) forms the past participle *niṣkuṣita* (*Raghuvaṁśa* 7.50, *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* 18.506), but this is specially provided for as obligatory by the next rule 7.2.47 *iṇ niṣṭhāyām*. I cannot find any relevant examples of this verb.

Pāṇini's preference for the *iṬ* forms in rule 44 and probably 45 is shared by Sanskrit usage. For the most part, they are verbs where *iṬ* begins to spread only in the Classical period. Wackernagel observes, for the special case of *-tum*, that the pre-Classical language seems to have only forms without *iṬ* in these verbs.[73] Pāṇini stands at the threshold of the Classical period, when the spread of *iṬ* into the conjugation of these verbs has begun but not yet gone very far.

(**118**) 7.2.48 *tīṣasahalubharuṣariṣaḥ* [44 *vā*] [39 *na*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]

An *ārdhadhātuka* suffix beginning with *t* gets *iṬ* marginally after the roots *iṣ* 'seek', *sah* 'prevail', *lubh* 'desire', *riṣ* 'hurt', *ruṣ* 'be angry'. According to Wackernagel (ibid.), *iṬ* does not occur in these verbs in the pre-Classical language. In Classical Sanskrit, forms without *iṬ* are more common, at least for *iṣ*, *sah*, and *lubh*. Classical usage, then, agrees with Pāṇini.

(**119**) 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasjadambhuśrisvṛyūrṇubharajñapisanām* [44 *vā*] [39 *na*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]

The desiderative suffix *san* preferably *(vā)* does not take *iṬ* after a root ending in *iv* and after the roots *ṛdh* 'thrive', *bhrasj* 'fry', *dambh* 'harm', *śri* 'lean on', *svṛ* 'sound', *yu* 'join', *ūrṇu* 'cover', *bhṛ* (stem *bhara*) 'carry', *jñap* 'instruct', *san* 'gain'. Such desideratives as Whitney *(Roots)* records for these verbs all lack *iṬ* : *īrtsati*, *dhīpsati*, *yuyūṣati*, *bubhūrṣati*, *siṣāsati*. The marginal status which Pāṇini assigns to *iṬ* in these verb forms appears to hold through all Sanskrit literature.

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[73] W. 2, 2, 650.

(**120**) 7.2.50 *kliśaḥ ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* [44 *vā*] [39 *na*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]

The suffixes *-Ktvā*, *-Kta* and *-KtavatU* (gerund, past participles passive and active) preferably *(vā)* take *iṬ* after the root *kliś* 'afflict'. The p.p. *kliṣṭa* is extremely common; *kliṣita* is recorded only once, in the 13th c. Jain text *Surathotsava*. Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini.

(**121**) 7.2.51 *pūṅaś ca* [44 *vā*] [39 *na*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]

The same three suffixes are preferably used without *iṬ* also after *pū* 'purify'. Whitney *(Roots)* cites *pūta* and *pūtvā* (also *pūtvī*) but not *pavita, pavitvā*. Classical usage agrees with Pāṇini.

(**122**) 7.2.56 *udito vā* [55 *ktvi*] [52 *iṭ*]

The gerund suffix *Ktvā* preferably *(vā)* takes *iṬ* after a root with diacritic *U*. Lists of the roots which fall under this rule are given in W. 2.2, 660 and Liebich (1920, 42). From six of these roots, Whitney *(Roots)* cites only *iṬ* gerunds : *as* 'throw', *gras* 'eat', *dam* 'control', *dhāv* 'run', *luñc* 'tear off', *śās* 'order'. From another six, he cites only non-*iṬ* gerunds : *gṛdh* 'be greedy', *ghṛṣ* 'rub', *vṛṣ* 'rain', *vrasc* 'cut up', *śaṁs* 'praise', *siv* 'sew'. There is also *ṣṭhutvā (ĀpŚrS.)*, but it is best not to count it in, since it cannot be derived from *ṣṭhiv* 'spit' in Pāṇini's system (it should be *ṣṭhyūtvā*). Also, the root *man* as an eighth conjugation verb *(manute)* is *udit*, but as the normal fourth conjugation *man (manyate)* takes no *iṭ*, this is in practice only a marginal option for the root as a whole. Both *iṬ* and non-*iṬ* forms are attested for *kram* 'stride', *khan* 'dig', *bhram* 'wander', *stabh* 'prop'. The data are inconclusive.

(**123**) 7.2.57 *se 'sici kṛtacṛtacchṛdatṛdanṛtaḥ* [56 *vā*] [52 *iṭ*]

An *ārdhadhātuka* suffix beginning with *s*, except for the aorist suffix *sIC*, preferably gets *iṬ* after the roots *kṛt* 'cut', *cṛt* 'tie', *chṛd* 'vomit', *tṛd* 'pierce', *nṛt* 'dance'. Whitney *(Roots)* gives *cikartiṣati, nartiṣyati, ninartiṣati, titṛtsati, kartiṣyati, kartsyati*. The use of *iṬ* seems to be more common than its absence, though the data are scanty.

(**124**) 7.2.65 *vibhāṣā sṛjidṛśoḥ* [61 *thali*] [59 *na*] [52 *iṭ*]

The 2. pl. perfect ending *-tha* marginally *(vibhāṣā)* fails to take *iṬ* after the roots *sṛj* ' emit ' and *dṛś* ' see '. Whitney cites only *sasarktha* (Class.), not *sasarjitha*, which goes against Pāṇini's preference.

(**125**) 7.2.68 *vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām* [67 *vasu*] [66 *iṭ*]

The perfect participle suffix *-vas* can marginally get *iṬ* after *gam* ' come ', *han* ' strike ', *vid* ' see ' and *viś* ' enter '. The commonly used forms are *jaganvān, vividvān,* not *jagmivān, vividivān.* Sanskrit usage agrees with Pāṇini's preference.

Note :—Negation and optionality weave in and out of the sequence of rules dealing with the augment *iṬ* (7.2.8 ff.) in an exceptionally complex way. The *anuvṛtti* which has been assumed in my analysis is consistent with the general principles postulated in Ch. 2 (see p. 45–47), on which my interpretations of rules have been based throughout.

To support the particular interpretations which have been given here to the rules in the *iṬ*-section, I append a systematic overview of the workings of *anuvṛtti* in it.

(**i**) 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*

Na and *iṭ* are continued from here until *na* is ousted by the repeated *iṭ* in 35 (Cf. p. 45).

(**ii**) 7.2.17 *vibhāṣā bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ* [16 *āditaḥ*] [14 *niṣṭhāyām*] [8 *na, iṭ*]

Na is continued here also. The *Kāśikā* correctly glosses the rule with *na.* On our interpretation, this means that the augment *iṬ* is preferably used in this environment.

(**iii**) 7.2.27 *vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ* [8 *na, iṭ*]

Na is to be read along with *vā*. (Cf. again the *Kāśikā : vā aniṭtvaṁ nipātyate*). That is, *iṬ* is preferably not used in these participles. This is confirmed by usage (p. 50, p. 148). *Vā* is continued up to 30 by the *ca* in that rule.

(**iv**) 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*

The repetition of *iṭ* serves to cancel *na.*

(**v**) 7.2.37 *graho 'liṭi dīrghaḥ* [35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*]

The tradition continues *iṭ* from 35 with an implicit case change to a genitive and takes the rule to be a substitution of a long *ī* for the short *iṭ* already inserted by the general rule 7.2.35. *(Kāśikā : graha uttarasya iṭaḥ aliṭi dīrgho bhavati.)* It is preferable, I think, to continue simply *iṭ* and to take the rule as an *apavāda* to 7.2.35 which inserts long *iṬ (ī)*, blocking the short *iṬ* called for by the general rule. That is, *iṭ dīrghaḥ* is construed just like *aḍ udāttaḥ* (6.4.71). This interpretation has the following four advantages over the traditional one :

(1) The need for changing the case of the continued item *iṭ* is obviated.

(2) The traditional interpretation, which has *iṬ* lengthened after *grah*, would wrongly apply also to the *iṬ* inserted after *grah* by 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭṭāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe 'jjhanagrahadṛśāṁ vā ciṇvad iṭ ca* (see p. 138–140), to derive passive forms such as **grāhīṣyate*,**agrāhīṣyata* etc. The correct *grāhiṣyate*, *agrāhiṣyata* are derived automatically on the proposed interpretation, according to which only that *iṬ* which is inserted by 7.2.37 and associated rules turns up long.

(3) On the traditional interpretation, the long vowel substituted for *iṬ* by 7.2.37 should not qualify as an *iṬ*, and therefore the deletion of *s* after *iṬ* by 8.2.28 *iṭa īṭi* in forms like *a + grah + ī + s + īt* should be inapplicable. By our interpretation, 7.2.37 inserts directly a long *iṬ*, which of course can trigger 8.2.28, so that *agrahīt* is correctly derived.

(4) The proposed interpretation allows us to make sense of the function of *vā* in 7.2.41 (see below).

(vi) 7.2.39 *na liṅi* [38 *vṝtaḥ*] [37 *dīrghaḥ*] [35 *iṭ*]

A straightforward restriction of the preceding process. As always, *na* discontinues *vā* (from the preceding rule). The *na* is continued up to 51 by virtue of the repeated *iṭ* in 52. Since this *na* happens to be operative only in optional rules in association with *vā*, the tradition has not retained the *anuvṛtti*.

(vii) 7.2.41 *iṭ sani vā* [39 *na*] [38 *vṝtaḥ*]

The mention of *iṭ* here cancels *dīrghaḥ*. The roots in question thus can have marginally a short *iṬ* before the desiderative suffix *san*. *Vā* and *iṬ* are continued.

(viii) 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā* [41 *iṭ*, *vā*] [39 *na*]
[35 *ārdhadhātukasya*, *valādeḥ*]

The repetition of *vā* cancels the input specification of 42 (*Kāśikā : vā iti vartamāne punar grahaṇam liṅsicor nivṛttyartham*).

(ix) 7.2.47 *iṇ niṣṭhāyām* [46 *niraḥ kuṣaḥ*] [36 *ārdhadhātukasya, valādeḥ*]

The repetition of *iṭ* temporarily interrupts *vā* (41) and *na* (39).

(x) 7.2.48 *tīṣasahalubharuṣariṣaḥ* [41 *vā, iṭ*] [39 *na*]

The renewed repetition of *iṭ* in 52 indicates that the items cancelled by *iṭ* in 47 are resumed here.

(xi) 7.2.52 *vasatikṣudhor iṭ* [50 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ*]

The repeated *iṭ* cancels *na* and *vā*. *Iṭ* is continued into the sequel.

(xii) 7.2.56 *udito vā* [55 *ktvi*] [52 *iṭ*]

Vā is reintroduced. The rule, therefore, calls for preferential insertion of *iṬ*. *Vā* is also continued into 57, by virtue of the repeated *iṭ* in 58.

(xiii) 7.2.58 *gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu* [57 *se, asici*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasya*]

The repeated *iṭ* cancels *vā*.

(xiv) 7.2.59 *na vṛdbhyaś caturbhyaḥ* [58 *iṭ, parasmaipadeṣu*] [57 *se, asici*] [35 *ārdhadhātukasya*]

Na is continued into the following rules, as indicated by the repeated *iṭ* in 66.

(xv) 7.2.65 *vibhāṣā sṛjidṛśoḥ* [61 *thali*] [59 *na*] [58 *iṭ*]

Na remains in force alongside *vibhāṣā*.

(xvi) 7.2.66 *iḍ attyartivyayatīnām* [61 *thali*]

The repetition of *iṭ* cancels *na*.

(xvii) 7.2.68 *vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām* [67 *vasu*] [66 *iṭ*]

(xviii) 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye* [66 *iṭ*]

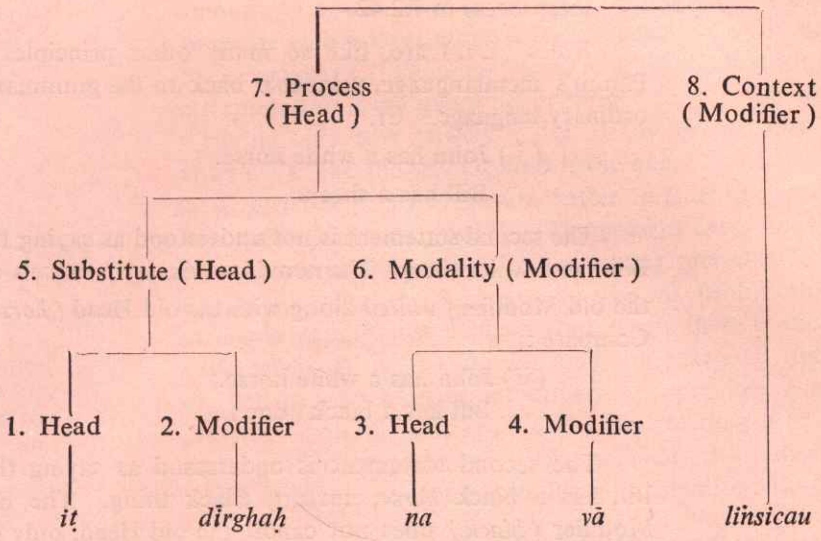
The rule is obligatory, since *vibhāṣā* is not continued from 68 in the absence of any special indication.

This diagram summarizes the essential features of the flow of *anuvṛtti* and *nivṛtti* in the section we have discussed. It omits, of course, various items such as the contextual restrictions of rules, which are also interwoven in these rules but which have not been analyzed here. The explicit discontinuation *(nivṛtti)* of an item by another item is marked by x, with parenthesized (x) indicating temporary discontinuation. A blank indicates that an item is simply not present.

8	*iṭ*		*na*		
9ff.	,,		,,		
17	,,		,,	*vibhāṣā*	
18ff.	,,		,,		
27	,,		,,	*vā*	
28–30	,,		,,	,,	
31ff.	,,		,,		
35	*iṭ*		x		
36	,,				
37	,,	*dīrghaḥ*			
38	,,	,,		*vā*	
39	,,	,,	*na*	x	
40	,,	,,	,,		
41	*iṭ*	x	,,	*vā*	
42	,,		,,	,,	*liṅsicau*
43	,,		,,	,,	,,
44	,,		,,	*vā*	x
45ff.	,,		,,	,,	
47	*iṭ*		(x)	(x)	
48ff.	,,		,,	,,	
52	*iṭ*		x	x	
53ff.	,,				
56	,,			*vā*	
57	,,			,,	
58	*iṭ*			x	
59	,,		*na*		
60ff.	,,		,,		
65	*(iṭ)*		*(na)*	*vibhāṣā*	
66	,,		x		
67	,,				
68	,,			*vibhāṣā*	
69ff.	,,				

There is a certain amount of ambiguity in this system of indicating the scope of *anuvṛtti*. On the whole, however, it functions with surprising precision.

To get a clearer picture of the way items specified in rules function to cancel previous items, we may imagine a rule as consisting of constituents grouped and subdivided in hierarchical fashion. The portion of rule structure relevant to the above discussion can be graphed as follows, with actual items from 7.2.8 ff. illustrating how the slots are filled.


7. Process (Head)
8. Context (Modifier)
5. Substitute (Head)
6. Modality (Modifier)
1. Head
2. Modifier
3. Head
4. Modifier
iṭ
dīrghaḥ
na
vā
liṅsicau

We have labelled the two lowest pairs of branches as "Head-Modifier". Also, the same relation could be thought of as holding between any pair of left and right branches on the tree (i. e. each odd-numbered node *n* is a Head whose Modifier is the corresponding even-numbered node $n+1$. We then observe that *nivṛtti* is governed by these rules :

(i) A new Head cancels an old Modifier.

(ii) A new Modifier does not cancel an old Head.

In determining the function of an item for purposes of (i, ii), we consider only the highest non-branching node that dominates it. The following examples will illustrate rules (i) and (ii) for nodes of each level on the hierarchy.

1 cancels 2 : e. g. *iṭ* cancels *dīrghaḥ* in 7.2.41.

3 cancels 4 : e. g. *na* cancels *vā* in 7.2.39.

5 cancels 6 : e. g. *iṭ* cancels *na* in 7.2.35.

7 cancels 8 : e. g. *vā* cancels *liṅsicau* in 7.2.44.

2 does not cancel 1 : e. g. *dīrghaḥ* does not cancel *iṭ* in 7.2.37.

4 does not cancel 3 : e. g. *vā* does not cancel *na* in 7.2.27.

6 does not cancel 5 : e. g. *vā* does not cancel *iṭ* in 7.2.56.

8 does not cancel 7 : e. g. *liṅsicau* does not cancel the process in 7.2.42.

Rules (i, ii) are, like so many other principles of Pāṇini's metalanguage, traceable back to the grammar of ordinary language. Cf.

(i) John has a white horse.
Bill has a sheep.

The second statement is not understood as saying that Bill has a white sheep. The new Head *(sheep)* cancels out the old Modifier *(white)* along with the old Head *(horse)*. Compare :

(ii) John has a white horse.
Bill has a black (one).

The second statement is understood as saying that Bill has a black *horse*, not any black thing. The new Modifier *(black)* does not cancel the old Head, only the old Modifier. This is not due to the pronoun *one* which English syntax requires to prop up the stranded adjective, for the example works equally well in languages where adjectives can stand alone :

(iia) *śuklaḥ aśvaḥ devadattāya dīyatām, kṛṣṇaḥ yajñadattāya.*

Here again we see how a feature of Pāṇini's metalanguage is grounded in the grammar of ordinary Sanskrit.

In the light of this analysis, we may now revert to the interpretation of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. The *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as follows : *yasya dhātor vibhāṣā kvacid iḍ uktas tasya niṣṭhāyāṁ parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati* " the augment *iṬ* is not added to *niṣṭhā* suffixes *(Kta, KtavatU)* after those roots after which the addition of *iṬ* is in some cases given as *vibhāṣā* ". On the traditional meaning of *vibhāṣā*, this says that if *iṬ* is *optional* with any suffix, then *iṬ* is *excluded* with the past participles. If we take our proposed gloss of *vibhāṣā*, it says that if *iṬ* is *marginal* with any suffix, then *iṬ* is excluded with the past participles. It is evident that this could be understood in two different ways, according to an ambiguity that is characteristic of modal contexts. The ambiguity may be illustrated with the following example : " Anyone with a marginal amount of savings should open a bank account ". This might mean either anyone with *only* a marginal amount (a person with a large amount should then do something else with his money) or anyone with *even* a marginal amount, i.e. *at least* a marginal amount (a fortiori, someone with a large amount should certainly also open a bank account). Pāṇinian rules require the first kind of interpretation if the quantifier is explicit (e.g. *dvyac* means "having *only* two vowels", not "having *at least* two vowels"), and the second kind if the quantifier is implicit (e.g. *padāt* as in 8.1.17 means "after *at least* one word", not "after *only* one word". The present case, however, is unique and cannot be decided by any precedent. The question is whether 7.2.15 is to be read as prohibiting *iṬ* in *niṣṭhā* endings for a given root when there is another suffix where *iṬ* is (1) *at most (only)* a marginal option, or (2) *at least* a marginal option, i.e. possibly even a preferred option. We will call them reading (1) and reading (2), respectively. The problem is to discover which of them corresponds to Pāṇini's intention.

The essential distinction between reading (1) and reading (2) is in whether 7.2.15 should apply also in cases where a root takes another suffix with *iṬ* as a *vā* option. In cases where the other suffix takes *iṬ* as a *vibhāṣā* option, 7.2.15 will apply on both readings to prohibit *iṬ* in *niṣṭhā* forms. It turns out that there are only two rules where it makes a difference. Most of the relevant optional rules that assign *iṬ* come under *vibhāṣā* (7.2.68) or the equivalent *na vā* (7.2.41–47, 48–51). Rule 38 comes under *vā*, but every root it applies to is also subject to the *na vā* option of 41–42, so that 7.2.15 is satisfied on both readings. Rule 65 refers to *aniṭ* roots, which are not subject to 7.2 35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* anyway, by virtue of the prohibition of 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe 'nudāttāt*. There remain only 7.2.56–57, which assign *iṬ* preferably *(vā)* to suffixes after certain roots. Unfortunately, they give somewhat contradictory evidence on our problem.

Rule 7.2.57 *se 'sici kṛtacṛtacchṛdatṛdanṛtaḥ* [56 *vā*] indicates that Pāṇini did *not* mean *vā* options to satisfy the condition of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. For the three verbs named in this rule which are *seṭ* have been given with the diacritic *Ī* in the *Dhātupāṭha : kṛtĪ, cṛtĪ, nṛtĪ*. Now the *only* function which *Ī* has in the Grammar is to block *iṬ* in precisely the *niṣṭhā* suffixes by 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām*. But under reading (2), *iṬ* in these *niṣṭhā* suffixes is already blocked by *yasya vibhāṣā* in view of the *vā* option of 7.2.57. The commentators duly note that the diacritic *Ī* of these verbs is redundant, and are unable to provide an acceptable solution to the problem. On reading (1) the diacritic would be necessary in order to block *iṬ* in the *niṣṭhā* forms *kṛtta, cṛtta, nṛtta.* This would solve a puzzle in the interpretation of Pāṇini and thereby support reading (1).

On the other hand, 7.2.56 *udito vā* indicates rather that *vā* also satisfies the condition of 7.2.15. It says that verbs with diacritic *U* preferably *(vā)* have *iṬ* on a following *Ktvā*. Under reading (1) 7.2.15 would not be applicable to these verbs, so that those subject to 7.2.35 would receive *iṬ* in the *niṣṭhā* forms too. It is true that there are some verbs with diacritic *U* which do have *iṬ* in the *niṣṭhā* forms, e. g. *dhāvU* ' run ' (p.p. *dhāvita*). But the great majority of them lack *iṬ* there, e. g. *vṛdhU* ' grow ' (p.p. *vṛddha*), *śāsU* ' instruct ' (p.p. *śiṣṭa*). Also, if Pāṇini had meant for *grasita, skabhita, stabhita, uttabhita* to be derived as the normal forms, he would not have given them as Vedic *nipātana* forms in 7.2.34.

In sum, there appears to be an inconsistency in the system which is not removed by either reading (1) or reading (2), or, of course, by the traditional interpretation. Reading (1) does not correspond to usage in the past participles of the verbs with diacritic *U* (7.2.56) and leaves the *nipātana* rule 7.2.34 unexplained. Reading (2), as well as the traditional reading, to which it is equivalent in its effect, leaves the diacritic *Ī* of *kṛtĪ, cṛtĪ, nṛtĪ* unexplained.

If we assume an originally consistent system, what textual restorations must we make ? On general grounds, it is unlikely that the diacritic *Ī* has been inserted afterwards into the lexical representation of the roots *kṛt, cṛt, nṛt*, for it merely creates an anomaly in the system as traditionally interpreted, and there would be no reason for it to have been added. As for reading (1), it might conceivably be reconciled with the facts of usage in the following way. We have assumed (p. 153–4) that *iṭ* in 7.2.52 *vasatikṣudhor iṭ* cancels *na vā* permanently. It is possible to suppose instead that it works like the *iṭ* of 7.2.47 *iṇ niṣṭhāyām*, setting aside *na vā* only temporarily, with *na vā* being resumed in the sequel. This would mean that 53–55 would come under the scope of *na vā* instead of obligatory *iṭ* as in the present interpretation. The resulting reading is actually better in 54 and 55 than the present reading. Rule 54 *lubho vimohane* is traditionally taken to mean that *lubh* obligatorily receives *iṬ* on a following *Ktvā* or *niṣṭhā* suffix when denoting bewilderment *(vimohane)*. Actually, only *lubdha*, not **lubhita*, is attested in the meaning " bewildered " (AB.). On the proposed reading, *lubdha* is in fact what Pāṇini's rule gives as the preferred form. Rule 55 *jṝvraścyoḥ ktvi* is traditionally taken to mean that the roots *jṝ* ' waste away ' and *vraśc* ' cut ' have obligatory *iṬ* on a following *Ktvā*. I cannot find relevant forms with *jṝ*, but *vraśc* normally seems to take no *iṬ* (*AV. vṛṣṭvā*, *RV. vṛktvī*). In 53 *añceḥ pūjāyām*, though, the *iṬ* forms (*e.g. añcita*) are evidently the normal ones. If this is accepted, then we might redivide the next two rules as 56 *uditaḥ*, 57 *vā se 'sici kṛtachṛtacchṛdatṛdanṛtaḥ*. Then 56 would say that verbs with diacritic *U* take *marginally (na vā) iṬ* on a following *Ktvā*, and *vā* would come in only in 57. This fits the facts reasonably well for both 56 and 57 (see the discussion of these rules in items **122–123** above). And now the roots of 56 but not those of 57 are subject to the prohibition of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*, which is just what we have already seen to be the fact of the matter.

The above is intended to be merely a suggestion foı resolving the problem. If it proves to be workable, then reading (1) should be accepted. If not, then reading (2) is preferable, though it shares with the traditional interpretation an unexplained anomaly in the verbs of 7.2.57.

As far as the other rules are concerned, reading (1) and reading (2) are equally consistent with the system and with the facts of the language.

This concludes our analysis of the *iṬ*-augment section. We return now to the main text of our discussion of Pāṇini's individual optional rules.

(126) 7.3.26 *ardhāt parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā* [10 *uttarapadasya*] [7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*] [115 *ñṇiti*] [118 *kiti ca*] [114 *vṛddhiḥ*]

After *ardha* ' half ' a word denoting a measure gets initial *vṛddhi* before a *taddhita* suffix with diacritic *Ñ*, *Ṇ*, or *K*, and *ardha* itself preferably also gets initial *vṛddhi*, e. g. *ardhadrauṇika* or (preferably) *ārdhadrauṇika* ' containing half a *droṇa* '. In the literature, however, the short vowel is favoured (BR, MW); e.g. *ardhakārṣika* ' weighing half a *karṣa*, (*Suśr.*), *ardhakaiśika* 'measuring half a hair's breadth' (*Suśr.*), *ardhamāsika* 'lasting half a month' (*Yājñ.*), *ardhapuruṣīya* 'having half the length of a man' (*Kāty. ŚrS.*). Sanskrit usage here does not agree with Pāṇini's preference.

(**127**) 7.3.30 *nañaḥ śucīśvarakṣetrajakuśalanipuṇānām* [26 *pūrvasya tu vā*] (the rest as in 7.3.26)

In compounds after the negation *naÑ* (= *a*-[74]) the words *śuci, īśvara, kṣetraja, kuśala, nipuṇa* get *vṛddhi*, and the first vowel preferably gets *vṛddhi* also : *ā̆śaucam* 'impurity (caused by the death of a relative)', *ā̆naiśvaryam* 'powerlessness', *ā̆kṣaitrajyam* 'state of not being a *kṣetraja* son', *ā̆kaūśalyam* 'lack of skill', *ā̆naipuṇam* 'lack of skill'. In the first of these words, which is the commonest, the differentiation in early Classical Sanskrit goes in the expected direction. Pāṇini's preferred option *āśaucam* is frequent in early Classical Sanskrit (*Gautama-*, *Baudhāyana-*, and *Vasiṣṭha- Dharmasūtras*, *Atrisaṁhitā*, *Manu-*, *Dakṣa-*, *Viṣṇu-*, *Bṛhaspati-*, and *Parāśara- Smṛtis*). The other form, *aśaucam*, is not so common. In earlier Sanskrit it only occurs in texts which also use *āśaucam* (*Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Atrisaṁhitā*, *Dakṣasmṛti*, *Viṣṇusmṛti*). In later Classical Sanskrit and in the Epics, the form with *ă*- overtakes the form with *ā*- in frequency. The other words covered by the rule are attested only in later Classical Sanskrit, some not even there. The short forms are more common, in so far as the words occur at all (*ā̆naipuṇam*, *ā̆naiśvaryam*).

In conclusion : Pāṇini's preference is in accord with early Classical Sanskrit usage where that is attested (*ā̆śaucam*). Later Sanskrit authors, contrary to Pāṇini, tend to prefer the forms with short *a*-.

(**128**) 7.3.58 *vibhāṣā ceḥ* [57 *sanliṭoḥ*] [52 *ku*]

The *c* of the root *ci* 'pile' can marginally become a velar in the desiderative and in the perfect. However, the *k*-forms are, contrary to Pāṇini, preferred in literature, e.g. desid. *cikīṣati* (*ŚB.*, *Kāty. ŚrS.*), perf. *cikāya*, *cikyuḥ*, *cikyire* etc. (*RV.*, *ŚB.*). To be sure, they are not common in Classical Sanskrit (*cikāya* : *Rāmacarita* 19.10, *Saundarananda* 17.16); *cikyire* : *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* 3.1.30, vs. *cicīṣati* : (*Śiś.* and *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* 2.5, cf.

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[74] 6.3.73 *nalopo nañaḥ*.

Renou 1961, 52). It is conceivable that the post-Vedic forms with *k* lean on Vedic usage, and that the living language of Pāṇini's own time had begun to eliminate this irregularity in the paradigm of *ci*.

(**129**) 7.3.73 *lug vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye* [72 *ksasya*]

The aorist suffix *Ksa* is preferably deleted after the roots *duh* 'milk', *dih* 'smear', *lih* 'lick' and *guh* 'hide', before a middle suffix beginning with a dental. Of the middle suffixes

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1.	*i*	*vahi*	*mahi*
2.	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
3.	*ta*	*ātām*	*ata* (*anta* after *a*, Vedic also *ra(n)(ta)*)

the ones which clearly begin with a dental are *thās*, *ta*, and *dhvam*. Adding them to the stem *a* + *duh* + *sa*, we derive 2. sg. *adhukṣathāḥ* or *adugdhāḥ*, 3. sg. *adhukṣata* or *adugdha*, 3. pl. *adhukṣadhvam* or *adugdhvam*.

There are two curious anomalies in the formulation of the rule which have provoked much discussion in the tradition as well as quite recently. The first is the reference to the right-hand context as *dantye* 'before a dental', using the longer term from phonetics rather than the technical term *tau* 'before a dental stop' (*tU* = *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, as defined by 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*, cf. Ch. 6 below). The class *tU* would have covered *thās*, *ta*, and *dhvam* as desired. The problem is not so much that Pāṇini used a disyllabic word where a monosyllabic one would seemingly have done equally well, as the *Kāśikā* thinks—for simplicity in the sense of minimizing syllable or moras is not the vital factor in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as it is sometimes made out to be (see Ch. 6,). Nor is it that Pāṇini has used a needlessly broad designation of the context (Deshpande 1976). He does that often, as Deshpande himself notes. The real difficulty is that Pāṇini here deviates from his otherwise invariable practice of using a technical term defined formally within the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* wherever available, in preference to terms not so defined. This consistent character of Pāṇini's metalanguage is analyzed at greater length in Ch. 6 below; for present purposes we need only note that the ordinary phonetic terms have been used in only two other places in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, both times in rules where they were unavoidable because the technical terms would not have given the right class of sounds : in 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya*, the term *oṣṭhya* ' labial ' could not have been replaced by *pU* because *v* had to be included, and in 8.3.55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*, the term *mūrdhanya* ' retroflex ' could not have been replaced by *ṭU* because *ṣ* had to be included. Therefore the tradition is perfectly justified in looking for a reason for Pāṇini's departure from his usual terminology in this third example also.

The second anomaly is the mention of *luk* as the deletion element in the rule. *Luk* functions to delete entire suffixes (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*). But if the deletion of *Ksa* applied only before the dental stop suffixes *thās, ta, dhvam*, then advantage could have been taken of other rules to effect the deletion of *Ksa* in two steps, resulting in a simpler formulation of 7.3.73. For the immediately preceding rule 7.3.72 *ksasyāci* [70 *lopaḥ*] deletes the *a* of the same suffix *Ksa* in another environment (before the vocalic suffixes *ātām* etc.). The same deletion process could have been continued gratis into 73, which could then have been phrased simply as **vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye*, with *lopa* automatically supplied by *anuvṛtti*. The remaining *s* would then go by another rule, 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* [24 *sasya*] [23 *lopaḥ*], which drops *s* between *jhal* consonants (obstruents). The derivations would then run as follows :

	a + duh + sa + ta
7.3.73 (revised)	*a + duh + s + ta*
8.2.26	*a + duh + ta*
	(> *adugdha*)

This second difficulty, however, may have a solution in terms of the Pāṇinian principle of *sthānivadbhāva*, as noted in the *Mahābhāṣya* on 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* (Vt. 22, Vol. I, p. 150). This rule states that a replacement for a vowel which is conditioned by what follows, is to be considered as having the properties of the original vowel, when a rule is to be applied to what precedes. (E.g. in *vāyu* + *oḥ*, the *v* which replaces *u* by 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* does not trigger deletion of the preceding *y* by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, because the *v* is here considered as *u* by 1.1.57, so that we derive *vāyvoḥ*, not **vāvoḥ*). In the same way, the *a* deleted by our putative simplified version of 7.3.73 would by 1.1.57 be considered as being *a* for purposes of applying the *s*-deletion rule 8.7.26, with the result that the environment of *s* deletion would not be satisfied. Unfortunately, though, it is not quite certain that 1.1.57 was meant to extend also to the rules in 8.2.1 ff. (the *Tripādī* section), which would of course include 8.2.26. The pros and cons of this issue are presented in Vt. 3–10 on 1.1.57.

An ingenious interpretation of 7.3.73, which motivates both *dantye* and *luk*, independently of *sthānivadbhāva*, is suggested in the *Kāśikā*. Cardona (1964) also made it his own, but later repudiated it in part (1969, p. 23, fn. 70). The idea is that the deletion of *Ksa* is also supposed to apply before l. du. *vahi*, viz. *adhukṣāvahi* or *aduhvahi*. If this was Pāṇini's intention, then certainly it would not have done to say *tau*, for *v* is not included in *tU*. But — so argues the *Kāśikā* — since *v* is *dantyoṣṭhya* 'dentilabial' (labiodental), it has really two places of articulation, and could be referred to equally as a dental and as a labial. And secondly, since *v* is not a *jhaL* consonant (obstruent), it could not be a context for 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*, so that deleting the *a* of *Ksa* by *lopa* would leave us without any way of getting rid of the *s*. Therefore, it is necessary to delete the whole suffix in one step, which requires the mention of *luk* in the rule.

While this interpretation makes good sense out of the formulation of 7.3.73, it unfortunately in turn creates two new difficulties. The first is that there is no reason to believe that Pāṇini could have used *dantya* to include *v*. The question has been recently discussed in detail by Deshpande (1976) and Bare (1976). Deshpande shows that all the *Prātiśākhyas* classify *v* only as an *oṣṭhya*, not as a *dantya*, and that both Patañjali and Kātyāyana did the same. What is more, Bare has found an argument that *v* could not be a *dantya* sound for Pāṇini either : if it was, then the *saṁprasāraṇa* of *v* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ saṁprasāraṇam*) might equally well be the dental *l* as the desired labial *u*. (Cf. also Deshpande, p. 60, who cites an earlier argument to the same effect by Śivadatta Kuḍāla).

The normal terminological usage in Sanskrit phonetics is that consonants are classified according to their *sthāna* (place of articulation), e. g. *mūrdhanya* 'articulated at the roof of the mouth', *kaṇṭhya* 'articulated at the throat'. In the *Prātiśākhyas*, the *sthāna* of *u* is considered to be the lips (*RPr*. 1.47, 1.49, *VPr*. 1.62, 1.70), so that *u* could justifiably be called *oṣṭhya*. The designation of *v* as *dantyo-*

ṣṭhya is only found in relatively late texts, such as the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* (generally thought to be later than the *Prātiśākhyas*). The view that the teeth are the *sthāna* of *v*, or that they are one of its two *sthānas* (the other being the lips), which alone could justify the inclusion of *v* among the *dantya* sounds, is found explicitly stated in phonetic works only in late commentaries on the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya* (Deshpande, 1976, p. 47, fn. 1).

The second difficulty with the interpretation of the *Kāśikā* is that there is no reason to believe that a 1. du. aor. mid. *aduhvahi* ever existed. It is not attested in the literature. Granted, in a dual form, that is in itself of little consequence, considering how rare the dual generally is. But more important is the fact that the origin of such a form would be historically inexplicable. As Wackernagel (1914) pointed out, the three forms with stop endings, viz. *adugdhāḥ*, *adugdha*, *adhugdhvam* are nothing but the historically expected reflexes of the *s*-aorist, a category shown to have been in use for *duh* by 3. pl. mid. *adhukṣata* (*RV.* 9.110.8, *MS.* 4.2; 13; 37), cf. Narten 1964, 143. They come from *a* + *duh* + *s* + *thāḥ*, *a* + *duh* + *s* + *ta*, *a* + *duh* + *s* + *dhvam* by the historical counterpart of Pāṇini's rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* (see above). But a putative **aduhvahi* could not have come from this source, for *s* was only dropped between obstruents, just as in Pāṇini's corresponding synchronic rule.

We seem to be faced with a dilemma. We cannot very well suppose that Pāṇini meant *dantye* to include *v*, but then the way he formulated the rule remains unaccounted for.

A glance at the middle paradigm given above suggests another purpose of formulating the context as *dantye* rather than as *tau : to include the Vedic 3. pl. middle endings beginning with r*. The assumption that *Ksa* was intended to be deleted also before *r* has this attractive feature, that Pāṇini's formulation would then at least be motivated by forms which actually could have existed and which cannot be otherwise derived in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The reason why this obvious possibility was not noticed in the tradition is probably in part that the endings in *r* with the verbs in question are only found in Vedic, though they are duly taken care of by Pāṇini (7.1.8, see below), and in part that the later tradition replaced the original classification of *r* as a *dantya* by one in which *r* was grouped with the *mūrdhanya* (retroflex) series instead.

Pāṇini's grammar itself otherwise gives no indication of how he classified *r* phonetically. But the *Prātiśākhyas*, which, whatever we may think of their relative chronology with respect to Pāṇini, are at any rate by common consent nearer in time to Pāṇini than any other phonetic texts, give the place of articulation of *r* as either the teeth *(RT.)*, the roots of the teeth (*RP.*, *AP.* (*ŚCA.*), *VP.*, and an alternate opinion cited by the *RT.*), behind the roots of the teeth *(TP.)*, or the alveolar arch (alternate opinion cited in the *RP.*). Nowhere in the *Prātiśākhya* literature is *r* characterized as a *mūrdhanya* ' retroflex ' with *ṭ*, *ṣ* etc. This comes only in the definitely post-Pāṇinian *Śikṣā* works and in commentaries on Pāṇini (e.g. *Siddhāntakaumudī* 10). Cf. Allen (1953), Bare (1976).

It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Pāṇini meant *dantya* to include also *r*. True, he cannot have had exactly the *Prātiśākhya* classification in mind in all respects. Had he treated syllabic *ṛ* and *ḷ* as velars, in the *Prātiśākhya* manner, he could not have assumed homogeneity of *ṛ*, *ḷ* with non-syllabic *r*, *l*, respectively, in such rules as 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Rather he would have had to classify them in a parallel way, perhaps by assuming *l* and *ḷ* as produced at the teeth and *r* and *ṛ* as produced at the root of the teeth (or behind the root of the teeth).

The information given by the *Prātiśākhyas* on the pronunciation of *r* was received sceptically by Whitney : " The most note-worthy circumstances in their common treatment of the letter is that they so ignore its special relationship with the lingual [= retroflex P. K.] mutes, and in part with the *ṛ*-vowels : although in this treatise the definition of the latter (ii.18) is, essentially, nearly accordant with that here given for the semi-vowel. *R* could not possibly have the value which belongs to it in the Sanskrit euphonic system, if it were not a lingual semi-vowel, like the English *r*, uttered with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. " (*TP.*, p. 74). Whitney's argument that Sanskrit *r* was really retroflex is simply fallacious; the most that one might argue is that it was retroflex when the relevant aspects of the " euphonic system " became established. There is no reason why its place of articulation could not have subsequently shifted from retroflex to dental. We would not argue, for example, on the basis of the treatment of *v* as a semi-vowel corresponding to *u*, that *v* was really pronounced [w] in Sanskrit — an illegitimate inference, and a false conclusion at least according to Whitney himself, who took *v* to be a labiodental with "the precise phonetic value of our English *v*" (Whitney on *TP*., p. 75). And, what is less obvious, it is probably not even necessary to assume that *r* was ever retroflex at *any* prehistoric stage of the language, for ordinary trilled, non-reroflex *r*'s are known to cause retroflexion too. An example is Swedish, where non-retroflex *r* combines with following dentals into corresponding retroflex sounds, e.g. *start* > [staṭ] 'start'. (Cf. Bhat (1973) for some discussion of this fact).

Why did Pāṇini want the *r*-endings included in the context of this rule? It must have been to make possible the derivation of a form like 3. pl. *aduhranta*, which though not itself attested is made likely by the other attested *r*-forms in this root, in particular, *aduhran* (*AV*. 8.10.14), which would be to *aduhranta* as *avavṛtran* (*RV*. 1.164.47 etc.) is to *avavṛtranta* (*RV*. 4.24.4).[75] Thus we would have the derivation:

		a + *duh* + *Ksa* + *jha*
7.1.3	*jho 'ntaḥ*	*a* + *duh* + *Ksa* + *anta*
7.1.8	*bahulaṁ chandasi*	*a* + *duh* + *Ksa* + *ranta*
7.3.73	*lug vā duhadihaliha guhām ātmanepade dantye*	*a* + *duh* + *ranta*

Since *r* is not a member of the class *tU*, 7.3.73 had to be given the condition *dantye* 'before a dental' in order to make this derivation possible. The other formal peculiarity of the rule, the mention of *luk* when *lopa* was present by *anuvṛtti*, also receives a justification independently of the *sthānivadbhāva* considerations described above: it was

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[75] There is also *aduhra* (*MS*. 13x), along with its 3. sg. counterpart *aduha* (*MS*. 2x). Both are derivable as imperfects in Pāṇini's system, viz.

		a + *duh* + *jha*
7.1.5	*ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ*	*a* + *duh* + *ata*
7.1.8	*bahulaṁ chandasi*	*a* + *duh* + *rata*
7.1.41	*lopas ta ātmanepadeṣu*	*a* + *duh* + *rā*
6.1.94	*ato guṇe*	*a* + *duh* + *ra*

Since 7.1.8 and 7.1.41 are optional Vedic rules, all three italicized forms in the above sequence are derived, the latter two being restricted to Vedic. Rule 7.1.41 similarly accounts for *aduha* from *a* + *duh* + *ta* (normally > *adugdha*) and for Vedic *duhe* from *duh* + *te* (normally > *dugdhe*). The form *aduhran* is derivable in Pāṇini's system only as an active imperfect.

necessary to delete the *entire* suffix *Ksa*, rather than only its *a*, because if just *a* were deleted, then the remaining *s* could not be dropped by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*, as *r* is not a *jhaL* sound.

This must remain a mere tentative suggestion until we can actually document the form in question in the literature, and find the reason why Pāṇini bestowed such special attention to it.

This interpretation, if it can be established, also helps to make some sense out of the use of *vā* in this rule. In the third person plural, the preferred alternative is the plausible *aduhranta*, the marginal alternative is the monstrous *adhukṣaranta*. In the other persons, however, the ordinarily encountered forms are the ones with retention of *Ksa*, viz. 3. sg. *(a) d(h) ukṣata* (*RV.* 1.160.3, 6.48.12, 9.2.3). Of course, 3. sg. *adugdha* also occurs (*JB.* 1.225, 3.11), but it is also analyzable as an imperfect, and I cannot find any reason why Pāṇini would have preferred to treat it as an aorist. Thus, Pāṇini's main motivation for making the deletion of *Ksa* a *vā* rule must have been to clearly indicate the marginal status of **adhukṣaranta*, which would otherwise have been derivable as the preferred 3. pl. *r*-form in his system.

(**130**) 7.3.90 *ūrṇoter vibhāṣā* [89 *vṛddhir luki hali*] [87 *piti sārvadhātuke*]

The root *ūrṇu* 'cover' can marginally get *vṛddhi* before a consonantal *sārvadhātuka* suffix with diacritic *P* — in effect, before the singular endings of the present tense.[76] Cf. p. 50, where we have discussed the significance of the fact that Pāṇini himself only uses the preferred form *ūrṇoti* when referring to the verb. The *vibhāṣā* option *ūrṇauti* is only attested, as far as I can discover, in the phrase *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇauti* in the *Yajurveda* tradition (*ŚB.* 3.8.2.16, *MS.* 3.10.1, *Kāty. Śr. S.* 6.6.11 — but *prorṇoti TS.* 6.3.11 in the corresponding passage). Everywhere else the *guṇa* form preferred by Pāṇini is also what we find in Sanskrit literature.

(**131**) 7.4.7 *ur ṛt* [6 *vā*] [1 *ṇau caṅi upadhāyāḥ*]

In the reduplicated (causative) aorist, an *ṛ* or *ṝ* in the penultimate position of a root preferably becomes *ṛ*.

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[76] Not the imperfect, because the next rule requires obligatory *guṇa* before endings consisting of a single consonant (7.3.91 *guṇo 'pṛkte*).

This special rule (vacuous for roots with *ṛ*) has the effect of blocking optionally a number of general rules which apply otherwise. For example, the reduplicated aorist of *vṛt* 'turn' is derived as either *avīvṛtat*, with *ṛ* by the present rule,[77] or *avavartat*, with the option of applying the present rule not taken, and consequent obligatory *guṇa* by 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* [82 *guṇaḥ*][78]. Similarly, *kṛt* 'cut' yields either *acīkṛtat*, with *ṛ* by the present rule as above, or *acikīrtat*, with *ṝ* → *ir* by 7.1.101 *upadhāyāś ca*, and subsequent lengthening by 8.2.77 *hali ca*.

The next rule 7.4.8 *nityaṁ chandasi* makes the *ṛ*-forms obligatory in Vedic. This is in complete accord with the texts, where we find numerous examples of *ṛ*-forms, but none of the alternative types derived by not applying the rule : *acīkṛtaḥ*, *acīkṛṣam*, *atītṛṣāma*, *amīmṛṇan*, *amīmṛjanta*, *acīvṛtat*, *acīkḷpat*, *atītṛpat*, *adīdṛśat*, *avīvṛdhat*. Therefore, the present, optional rule is only applicable to the post-Vedic language. Here too Pāṇini still favours *(vā)* the *ṛ*-forms. And it is only these which we find used in literature : *acīkḷpat*, *atītṛpat*, *adīdṛśat*, *avīvṛdhat*, *avīvṛṣat* (Whitney, *Roots*). Classical usage continues in line with Pāṇini's preference.

(132) 7.4.12 *śṝdṝprāṁ hrasvo vā* [9 *liṭi*]

In the three roots *śṝ* 'crush', *dṝ* 'pierce', *pṝ* 'fill', the final *ṝ* is preferably *(vā)* shortened in the perfect tense. This shortening in practice allows them to escape the effect of the preceding rule 11 *ṛcchatyṝtām*, which changes roots in -*ṝ* to *guṇa* in the perfect (wherever the suffixes are *kit* and cause no *vṛddhi*). All perfect forms of these verbs which are cited in Whitney's *Roots* do show the effect of this shortening : *śaśre (AV)*, *dadre (S +)*, *dadṛvāṁs (RV.)*, *papṛvāṁs (MS)*. The forms resulting from retained *ṝ* would be, by 7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṝtām*, the unattested *śaśare*, *dadare*, *dadarvāṁs*, *paparvāṁs* etc.[79] Pāṇini's preference therefore agrees with usage, in so far as it is documented.

(133) 7.4.57 *muco 'karmakasya guṇo vā* [54 *sani*]

In the desiderative, *muc* preferably *(vā)* gets *guṇa* if used intransitively. In that case, the reduplicating syllable drops by the next rule 7.4.58 *atra lopo 'bhyāsasya*, e. g. *mokṣate* 'seeks liberation' or (less preferably) *mumukṣate*. The form *mokṣate* is indeed common in Classical Sanskrit, and *mokṣ* develops into an independent separate root, all the more so as it need not have a desiderative sense, but can simply mean 'liberates (oneself)' or even 'liberates' (transitive), though this change comes after Pāṇini.

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[77] And *ī* in the reduplicating syllable by 7.4.93 *sanval laghuni caṅpare 'naglope* (cf. 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*) and 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*.

[78] This makes the root heavy (*vart-*), so that the special reduplication rule 7.4.93 (previous footnote) is now inapplicable, and the general reduplication rules come in : *avartvartat* → (7.4.60 *halādiḥ śeṣaḥ*) *avavartat*.

(134) 8.2.21 *aci vibhāṣā* [20 *graḥ*] [18 *laḥ*]

In the root *gṝ* 'swallow', *r* can marginally be replaced by *l* before a vocalic suffix, e. g. pres. *gilati*, perf. *jagāla*, fut. *galiṣyati*, or (preferably) *girati*, *jagāra*, *gariṣyati*. The forms with *r* are overwhelmingly favoured in Sanskrit literature, in accordance with the preference expressed in Pāṇini's rule (Renou 1961, 55, Whitney *(Roots)*, DC).

(135) 8.2.22 *pareś ca ghāṅkayoḥ* [21 *vibhāṣā*] [18 *laḥ*]

The *r* of *pari* can marginally be replaced by *l* before *gha* and *aṅka*. The words *parigha* 'iron bar, bludgeon' and *paryaṅka* 'couch, bedstead' are decidedly preferred over *paligha*, *palyaṅka* throughout Sanskrit literature. Both *r*-forms are common in the Epics, whereas the *l*-forms do not appear to occur there at all. This again fits in with Pāṇini's formulation.

(136) 8.2.33 *vā druhamuhasnuhasnihām* [32 *ghaḥ*] [29 *ante ca*]
[26 *jhali*] [8.1.108 *saṁhitāyām*] [8.1.16 *padasya*]

The final *h* of the roots *druh* 'be hostile', *muh* 'be confused', *snuh* 'vomit', *snih* 'be sticky, love' preferably becomes *gh* before an obstruent and at the end of a word, e. g. *drugdha*[80] or (less preferably) *drūḍha*[81], and similarly for the other roots. In all stages of the language, from earliest Vedic to Classical, the forms obtained applying the change to *gh* are decidedly more common than the forms obtained by not applying it. Of forms derived via *gh*, Whitney *(Roots)* cites *drugdha* V +, *drogdhavai Kāṭh.*, *drogdhṛ* E +, *drogdhavya* B +, *-druk* (nom. sg. *-dhruk*) *mugdha* V +, *snigdha* E +; the other option is only instan-

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[79] There are also the Classical *pupūre*, *pupūrire*, which cannot be derived by Pāṇini's rules at all.

[80] From *druh + ta*. Derivation : *drugh + dha* (8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathor dho 'dhaḥ*), *drug + dha* (8.4.53 *jhalāṁ jaś jhaśi*).

[81] Derivation : *druh + ta*, *druḍh + ta* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), *druḍh + dha* (8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathor dho 'dhaḥ*), *druḍh + ḍha* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*), *dru + ḍha* (8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*), *drūḍha* (6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho 'ṇaḥ*).

tiated in literature by the single form *mūḍha AV.*, *Sūtras*, U+.[82] Sanskrit usage thus agrees complete with Pāṇini's rule.

Note : The *anuvṛtti* of 8.1.108 *saṁhitāyām* and 8.1.16 *padasya* is carried through to the end and will not be specifically indicated for each of the following rules.

(137) 8.2.63 *naśer vā* [62 *kuḥ*]

The final consonant[83] of *naś* preferably *(vā)* becomes a velar at the end of a word. The marginal option is *ṣ* from the more general rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛjamṛjayajarājabhrājacchaśāṁ ṣaḥ*, which then becomes a stop by 8.2.39 *jhalāṁ jaśo 'nte*. The condition *kvinpratyayasya* from the preceding rule (8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ*) must be discontinued here, since no derivatives with *KvIN* can be formed from *naś* by Pāṇini's rules.[83] The standard example is *jīvanaṭ* (*MS.* 1.4.13), from *naś* 'perish' with *KvIP*, and the only other noun which might come into question is the totally obscure *manūnak* (*RV.* 10.61.6). This is hardly enough to have motivated a special rule in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

There is, however, a homonymous root *naś* 'attain'. It forms a root aorist in Vedic, which in the second and third persons singular shows a variation between retroflex and velar stop in word-final position, exactly as specified by this rule : *abhinaṭ* (*RV.* 1x), *praṇak* (*RV.* 4x), and, with the augment *ā* (6.4.73 *chandasy api dṛśyate*), *ānaṭ* (*RV* 26x). The *Dhātupāṭha* at present does not know *naś* in this meaning, but as the glosses there are certainly later additions, Pāṇini may have intended *naś* in both meanings.[84] In any case, the Vedic root aorist of *naś* is specially provided for by Pāṇini in 2.4.80 *mantre ghasahvaranaśa-*

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[82] The roots had Indo-European velars $g^{(w)}h$, and forms like *drūḍha*, *mūḍha* are from a historical point of view sporadic analogical derailments on the analogy of the type *guh* ~ *gūḍha*, *lih* ~ *līḍha* which arose by regular sound changes from IE palatal *gh* (W. 1, 254).

[83] The suffix *KvIN* is added by 3.2.58–60 to certain roots, *naś* not among them.

[84] In order to derive *praṇak*, Sāyaṇa (on *RV.* 1.18.3) goes through some bizarre gymnastics. He takes the root to be *pṛc* 'mix' and analyzes it as a *rudh* class imperfect with an extra augment on the infix, viz. *pr+ana+c+t*. He also takes *ānaṭ* as being derived from *aś*, with reduplication and the augment *nUṬ* by 7.4.72 *aśnoteś ca*, though the latter rule is really restricted to the perfect tense. BR, Grassmann, and MW also derive *ānaṭ* from *aś* while Whitney (*Roots*) groups it with *naś*. Hoffmann (1952 / 1957) shows that all these forms really belong in a single paradigm under one root in Vedic.

vṛdahādvṛjkṛgamijanibhyo leḥ, which deletes the aorist suffix *(Cli)* after this and other roots in the language of the *Saṁhitās*. Since he took care of the morphology of this root aorist, it is reasonable to suppose that he also took care of its phonology, a purpose which the present rule seems designed to serve. Pāṇini's use of *vā* in the rule could be justified if we supposed that (like BR and Grassmann) he related *ānaṭ* to *aś*, not *naś* (possibly on semantic grounds, the occurrences of the Vedic *naś* ' attain ' perhaps not being frequent enough for Pāṇini to have distinguished its special meaning from that of *naś* ' perish '). Then *(pra) ṇak* would in fact have been more frequent than *(abhi) naṭ*.[85] It is also possible that there were forms in *-k* current in the language of Pāṇini's time which have not survived in the literature. In view of the many open questions connected with this rule it is best not to draw any conclusions about its relationship to Sanskrit usage.

(138) 8.2.74 *sipi dhāto rur vā*
8.2.75 *daś ca* | [27 *ante*]

A final *s* preferably becomes *rU* (and then one of its reflexes, such as *-ḥ*) before the deleted 2. sg. suffix *siP*,[86] e.g. *a + cakās + siP → acakās → acakārU → acakāḥ*. The less favoured option is to change the *s* to *d* (*daḥ* from 72, cf. Ch. 5 below) and then to *t* by 8.4.56 *vāvasāne (acakās → acakād → acakāt)*. The next rule allows precisely the same choice of terminations for roots ending in *d*, e.g. *abhinad+ siP → abhinad* and optionally *abhinarU → abhinaḥ*. In both cases, then, the termination that looks like the 2. sg, suffix *-s* is preferred. This is the expected form in root in *-s;* the only surprising thing is that *-t* is even a marginal option there. In roots ending in *-d*, the ending *-s* in the second person is analogical. Like the change of 3. sg. *s*-aor. *RV. aprās* (< **a* + *prā* + *s* + *t)* to *AV. aprāt* (Narten 1964, 19), it served to maintain the distinction of the second and third persons singular by means of their ordinary terminations. The change in the second person, however, took place later. It is not yet found in Vedic, which only has *abhinat*, *atṛnat* (Macdonell 345). Hoffmann (1965) has noted 2. sg. impf. *abhinas* in *Āp. ŚS.* 20.15.11 (also *BŚS.*, *HŚS.*, *MŚS.*). It would be rather remarkable if this were the *more* common form in the Classical language. In the absence of more data I cannot assess the usage there.

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[85] The original distribution must have been 2. sg. *nak* (< **nakṣ*), 3. sg. *naṭ* (< **naṣṭ*). This has been redistributed on a phonological basis depending on the initial consonant of the root : (*pra*) *ṇak* vs. (*abhi*) *naṭ*.

[86] The diacritic *P* makes the suffix unaecented and let the root get *guṇa*. The final *ī* drops by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*, and *s* then drops by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṁ hal*, but the suffix *siP* required as the context of the present rule is considered as still being present, by virtue of the general convention that deleted suffixes trigger the same changes as those which are present (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*).

(139) 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā* [1 *chandasi*]

This rule is a heading which applies to the following series of rules up to 8.3.12, which all turn final nasals into *rU*. The heading says that the vowel preceding this *rU* becomes preferably *(vā)* nasalized (turned into an *anunāsika*). The other, marginal option is given by 8.3.4 *anunāsikāt paro 'nusvāraḥ*, which allows a nasal offglide *(anusvāra)* to be inserted after it instead. For example, in connection with rule 8.3.9 *dīrghād aṭi samānapāde* [7 *naḥ*] [1 *ru*], which changes *n* after a long vowel to *rU* before a vowel or *y*, *v*, *r*, *h* within a *pāda* (verse), we can apply either 8.3.2 or 8.3.4 to turn *paridhīn ati* into *paridhī̃r ati* (nasalization) or *paridhīṁr ati* (nasal offglide) (*RV.* 9.107.19). The difference is small phonetically and not recorded in the writing system. However, the Vedic *Prātiśākhyas* are quite clear on the point. All of them either require the nasalized vowel *(anunāsika)* or at least recommend it.[87] Thus, whatever the actual facts of pronunciation may have been, it is at least clear that Pāṇini's preference agrees with that of the *Prātiśākhyas*.

(140) 8.3.28 *ṅṇoḥ kukṭuk śari* [26 *vā*]

Before a fricative *(ś, ṣ, s)*, final *ṅ* and *ṇ* are preferably *(vā)* augmented with *k* and *ṭ*, respectively, e.g. *prāṅ śete* → *prāṅk śete*. This rule (in various more restricted forms depending on the combinations that happen to be instantiated in the respective Vedic texts) is obligatory in the *Taittirīya-*, *Atharvaveda-*, and *Vājasaneyi- Prātiśākhyas*, and cited as one opinion in the *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya* (see Whitney's note on *A. Pr.* 2.12).

(141) 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* [26 *vā*]

After *ḍ* at the end of a word, *dh* is preferably inserted before an initial *s* in the next word, e.g. *vaṣaḍ svāha* → *vaṣaḍ dhsvāha (→ vaṣaṭ tsvāha)*. A rule to this effect is obligatory in the *Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya* (2.8) and in the

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[87] W. I, 330.

Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya (5.33) and cited in the *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya* (4.17).

(142) 8.3.30 *naś ca* [29 *si dhuṭ*] [26 *vā*]

The same epenthesis takes place after *n* also, e.g. *bhavān sāye* → *bhavān dhsāye (→ bhavān tsāye)*. Pāṇini's preference agrees with the *Prātiśākhyas :* " According to most of the grammarians of the *Prātiśākhyas* (not *RPr.*), the insertion of the *t* in such cases is a necessary one. In the manuscripts it is very frequently made, but not uniformly ". (Whitney 69, para. 207a).

(143) 8.3.31 *śi tuk* [30 *naḥ*] [26 *vā*]

A final *n* preferably gets an epenthetic *t* after it when *ś* follows. E g. *bhavān śete* → *bhavānt śete* (→ 8.4.40 *bhavāñc śete* → 8.4.64 *bhavāñc chete.* Cf. Whitney (68, *s. v.* 203) : " . . the following *ś* may be, *and in practice almost always is*, converted to *ch.* "[88].

(144) 8.3.33 *maya uño vo vā* [32 *aci*]

Aftar a final obstruent or nasal *(maY)*, the particle *uÑ* preferably becomes *v* before a vowel. I have no data from Classical Sanskrit regarding this point. In Vedic, however, the texts always have *v*, e.g. *áved v indra (RV.* 1.28.1), *saṁ v āsnā 'ha āsyām (AV.* 6.53.3). *Metrically* this *v* counts as a vowel[89] but Pāṇini's rules of course apply to the texts as actually pronounced.

(145) 8.3.36 *vā śari* [35 *visarjanīyaḥ*]
8.3.37 *kupvoḥ xkaφpau ca* [34 *visarjanīyasya*]

The final *ḥ (visarjanīya)* turns to *s* before a voiceless consonant by 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*. The next rule, 35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ*, turns *ḥ* to *ḥ*, in effect negating the change to *s* by 34, in a special subset of cases which would otherwise be subject to that rule. The *ḥ* → *ḥ* process is then optionally *(vā)* extended by the present two rules to the environment before a fricative *(śar)* and a (necessarily voiceless) velar or labial *(ku, pu)*. When the *ḥ* → *ḥ* option is not taken before a fricative (rule 36), we get *ḥ* → *s* by the general rule 34. The *s* then assimilates obligatorily to a following *ś* and *ṣ* by the later rules 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*, 41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. When the *ḥ* → *ḥ* option is not taken before a velar or labial, rule 37 itself assimilates the *ḥ* to *x* or *ϕ*. As a result of this maneuvering we get a choice, before any voiceless consonant of either (preferably) *ḥ*, or else a fricative homorganic with the following consonant. A few derivations will make this clear. (We begin with a stage in the derivation when *visarjanīya* has already been derived; ultimately of course it comes in turn from *s*).

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[88] The continuation of *vā* from 8.3.26 into this rule (in spite of the *ca* in 8.3.30 *naś ca*) is marked by the mention of *nityam* in 8.3.32.

[89] The usual interpretation of this fact would be that the *v* was actually pronounced as an *u* at the time the poems were composed. This is an illegitimate conclusion if it is recognized that poetic metre can be based on morphophonemic as well as phonetic representations (Kiparsky 1970, 1972). From the fact that acc. sg. *gām* is sometimes metrically disyllabic in the *Ṛgveda* we would not conclude that it was so pronounced, for it continues IE *g^{w}*ōm* by regular sound change. Rather, it can be metrically disyllabic in *Ṛgvedic* poetry because the poets *perceived* it as an underlyingly disyllabic combination of */ go + am /*.

	vṛkṣaḥ śete ‘ the tree is lying ’	*vṛksaḥ patati* ‘ the tree is falling ’
8.3.36	*ḥ*	
8.3.34	*s*	
8.3.37		*ḥ* *ϕ*
8.4.40	*ś*	
	vṛkṣaḥ śete / *vṛkṣaś śete*	*vṛkṣaḥ patati* / *vṛkṣaϕ patati*

The *Prātiśākhyas* show that linguists in ancient India must have had a lively controversy going about the assimilation of *visarjanīya*. In general, they recommend the assimilation before both fricatives and stops, but not without citing numerous scholars who disagreed wholly or in part. Moreover, the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* prefers unassimilated *-ḥ* before the stops. A convenient summary of the various views is found in Whitney's remarks on rule 2.40 of the *Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya*. In writing, unassimilated *ḥ* is usually found in all environments in question. However, the assimilation to a following fricative is written in certain *Grantha* manuscripts (Renou, 1961, 37), and the assimilation before *k(ḥ), p(ḥ)* occurs in a few old manuscripts, especially in the *Śāradā* script, and in some inscriptions (Renou, 1961, 38). Otherwise, *-ḥ* prevails. Pāṇini's preference, then, goes against the main recommendation of most *Prātiśākhyas* (though coming close to the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*) and agrees with nearly all written usage, in manuscripts of both Vedic and Classical texts.

(**146**) 8.3.71 *sivādīnāṁ vā'ḍvyavāye 'pi*
8.3.72 *anuviparyabhinibhyaḥ syandater aprāṇiṣu* [71 *vā*]
8.3.73 *veḥ skander aniṣṭhāyām* [71 *vā*]
8.3.74 *pareś ca* [71 *vā*] [73 *skandeḥ*]
8.3.76[90] *sphuratisphulatyor nirnivibhyaḥ* [71 *vā*]

[65 *upasargāt*]
[58 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye 'pi*]
[57 *iṇkoḥ*]
[56 *saḥ*]
[55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*]

These rules deal with the details of retroflexion of initial *s* in roots after *upasargas* ending in *i, u.* Under the following conditions, *s* preferably *(vā)* becomes *ṣ :*

(71) in *siv* ' sew ', *sah* ' prevail ', *(s)kṛ* ' make ', *stu* ' praise ', *svañj* ' embrace ', even when the past tense augment *aṬ* intervenes[91];

(72) in *syand* ' flow ' after *anu, vi, pari, abhi, ni,* unless the subject is animate (e.g. not in the causative);

(73) in *skand* ' leap ' after *vi,* except in perfect participles ;

(74) in *skand* after *pari* ;

(76) in *sphur* and *sphul* ' jerk ' after *niḥ, ni, vi.*

The continuation of *vā* from 71 through 76 is guaranteed by the mention of *nityam* in 77 *veḥ skabhnāter nityam,* which terminates the optionality.

Of the combinations which come under 8.3.71, only *pari* + *svaj* is common enough that the cases with intervening augment are found with any frequency. Here we have always *ṣ : R. Prāt.* 5.30 *paryaṣvajat, R.* 2.69.5 *paryaṣvajetām, R.* 2.95.45 *paryaṣvajata.* Of the other cases specified by the present rule, I could only find *abhi* + *sah* in *RV.* 10.159.1 *abhyasākṣi,* but this form is specially provided by 8.3.119 *nivyabhibhyo 'ḍvyavāye vā chandasi*, according to which *ṣ* is preferably *not* retroflexed after *abhi* in Vedic when the augment intervenes (p. 75). Thus all the relevant cases follow Pāṇini's preference.

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[90] I omit rule 75, which is an obligatory dialectal *nipātana* rule not relevant for our purposes.

[91] When the augment does not intervene, the retroflexion is obligatory in these cases by the preceding rule, and in other preverb + root combinations it is obligatory by 8.3.63 even when the augment does intervene, subject to various additional restrictions (8.3.110, 116-7, 119, cf. Ch. 3, item 19).

After the *upasargas vi* and *pari*, the root *syand* 'flow' (rule 72) almost always begins with *ṣ*. Both *ṣ* and *s* are attested after *ni*, *abhi* and *anu* (the latter two being relatively rare). In Vedic, only *ṣ* appears even in these cases (*RV. anuṣyand-*, *ŚB. anuṣyanda, pariṣyanda, VS. TB. AB. ŚB. viṣyand-*).

I cannot find examples of *vi + skand-* (73), but *pari + skand* (74) is frequent, and retroflexion predominates in it. The noun *pariṣkanda* is well attested in the Vedas. (*AV.* often, *VS.*), *Brāhmaṇas* (*ŚBK.* and *ŚBM*, *JB.*) and *Śrautasūtras* (*Bau. ŚrS.*), while *pariskanda* occurs in *JB.* and *Mbh.* 8.24.79.

The root *sphur*, frequent with *vi* (76), is an interesting case because the earlier language diverges here from Classical Sanskrit, and Pāṇini, as in most such cases, goes with the earlier language. We have retroflexion in *viṣphur-* in *RV.*, *ŚB.*, *TB.*, and the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* (6.13) has a rule requiring obligatory *ṣ* in this combination. But the later language, including the epics, nearly always has *s* here (see the citations in BR).

In sum, this set of rules clearly agrees with the preferences exhibited in Sanskrit literature.

(**147**) 8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ* [78 (*iṇaḥ*) *ṣīdhvaṁluṅliṭāṁ ḍho 'ṅgāt*]
[55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*]

This rule, together with the preceding rule 78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṁluṅliṭāṁ ḍho 'ṅgāt*, deal with the conditions under which the *dh* of the 2. pl. middle endings *ṣīḍhvam* (precative), *dhvam* (aorist), and *dhve* (perfect) gets retroflexed. Their exact import has been much discussed since Whitney (1884).

Three principal interpretations have been proposed : a traditional one, a suggestion by Liebich (1891), further developed by Buiskool (1939, 90–91), and another proposal by Buiskool (92, obs. 41). Before stating what they are I set out the crucial cases in the following table, where the consequences of each of the three interpretations are indicated.

	(*a*) Trad.	(*b*) L.-B1	(*c*) B2
(1) *adug+dhvam*	inappl.	inappl.	inappl.
(2) *asto+dhvam* *cakṛ+dhve*	oblig.	oblig.	oblig.
(3) *ajani+dhvam*	inappl.	opt.	oblig.
(4) *alavi+dhvam*	opt.	opt.	oblig.
(5) *dadh+idhve*	inappl.	opt.	opt.
(6) *dadhr+idhve*	opt.	opt.	opt.

(*a*) According to tradition, the first rule retroflexes *dh* obligatorily after a sound of the class *iṆ* (a vowel other than *a*, a liquid or glide, or *h*). This gives *ḍh* obligatorily in (2) in the above table, but will not apply in (1). The second rule applies optionally when *ḍh* is preceded by *iṬ* and *iṬ* is in turn preceded by a sound of the class *iṆ* (in practice, a liquid, a glide, or *h*). This applies in (4) and (6) but not in (5) and (3). As Whitney first noted, the problem with this is that there is no conceivable historical reason for the supposed differentiation between (3) and (4), on the basis of whether *i* is *preceded* by a liquid, glide, or *h*, or by some other sound, nor for the similar differentiation between (5) and (6). The contrasts have no justification in historical phonology, for on that basis we would rather expect *both* (3) *ajaniḍhvam* and (4) *alaviḍhvam* with *ḍh* (from **-isdh-* via **izdh*> **iẓdh* > **iẓḍh* > *iḍh*), and *both* (5) *dadh+idhve* and (6) *dadhr+idhve* with *dh*, since the perfect never had an *s*, the only sound which was regularly retroflexed after *i*. There is also no possible analogical source for such a differentiation between (3) and (4) and between (5) and (6). The attested facts, too, contradict this interpretation, for all known examples of the type (3) have *ḍh*, viz. *ajaniḍhvam, artiḍhvam, aindhiḍhvam, vepiḍhvam.*

(*b*) To meet these objections, Liebich and Buiskool suggest that *iṇaḥ* should not be continued from 78 into 79. The latter translates the rules as follows :

(78) " After one of the speech-sounds belonging to the *pratyāhāra iṇ*, the *dh* of -*ṣīdhvam, dhvam* (aorist) and *dhve* (perfect) is cerebralized, if these endings follow immediately on the stem. "

(79) " The substitution according to 78 is optional, if the part of the word which precedes the suffix ends in *iṭ* ".

Rule (79) would not, on this account, impose any contextual restriction on what precedes the *iṬ* augment, but would simply apply optionally to all cases (3)-(6). Thus the option would be, as far as (3) and (4) are concerned, a restriction (a *prāptavibhāṣā*) since these forms would otherwise be obligatorily subject to retroflexion by (78), but as far as (5) and (6) are concerned, it would be an extension (an *aprāptavibhāṣā*), since these forms would not subject to (78) because of the mention of *aṅgāt* in that rule.

(*c*) Buiskool's second proposal is that the first rule applies to the cases where *dhvam, dhve* are directly preceded by the *aṅga* (viz. (2)-(4)), and the second rule applies to the rest, where they are preceded by *iṬ*. That is, (78) and (79) have disjoint domains, and (79) is not a restriction of (78), but merely extends retroflexion optionally to an environment not covered by that rule.

The third interpretation gives the best match with the attested data, for it makes retroflexion obligatory in cases of the type (3) and (4), where it is in fact always found (though the examples are not numerous). It also presents the most plausible picture of the facts from a historical point of view. Retroflexion is obligatory where it is historically " regular ". It has also been extended by analogy to the phonologically similar perfect ending (where the extension was facilitated by the fact that the second person of the perfect is rather rare, almost as rare as the first person — cf. above on rule 7.1.91). The analogy was carried out to completion where the perfect suffix was morphologically parallel to the aorist suffix *(cakṛ* + *dhve* like *asto* + *dhvam)*, but it was carried out only marginally where the analogy was only superficial (*dadh* + *idhve* sounds like *ajani* + *dhvam* but is actually to be segmented in a different way). In fact, the two attested occurrences of type (5, 6), *dadhidhve (RV.)*, both have *dh*, so that the extension may not yet have begun in the Ṛgvedic period.

It will be seen that the third interpretation, unlike the first two, fits well not only with attested usage and historical considerations, but also with the meaning which we have hypothesized for *vibhāṣā*.

(148) 8.3.100 *nakṣatrād vā* [99 *eti saṁjñāyām agāt*] [57 *iṇkoḥ*] [56 *saḥ*] [55 *mūrdhanyaḥ*]

An *s* followed by *e* preferably becomes *ṣ* in a lexicalized expression after a word devoting a lunar mansion ending in a high vowel (but not in a velar). This rule has apparently been lifted together with the preceding rule into the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* text from the *Gaṇapāṭha* at a rather late stage. It is not included in the *Kāśikā* text. In any case, there is little lexical material bearing on it : I found only *svātiṣena* (name of king, *Viṣṇup.*), which shows the preferred option.

(**149**) 8.4.6 *vibhāṣauṣadhivanaspatibhyām* [4 *vanam*] [3 *pūrvapadāt*] [2 *aṭkupvaṅnumvyavāye 'pi*] [1 *raṣābhyāṁ no ṇaḥ*]

The *n* of *vana* ' forest ' is preferably not *(vibhāṣā)* retroflexed in a compound if the preceding member denotes a plant or tree, under the usual phonetic conditions (*r* or *s* in the preceding member, with only velars, labials, vowels, and glides intervening). Rules 8.4. 4–5 provide for obligatory retroflexion in a designated list of compounds in *-vana*. The only relevant cases outside of this list which I could find in BR both have unretroflexed *n* : *puṣpavana* and *bhārgavana*. This is in agreement with Pāṇini's preference, but is hardly enough to mean much.

(**150**) 8.4.10 *vā bhāvakaraṇayoḥ* [9 *pānam*] [2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi*] [1 *raṣābhyāṁ no ṇaḥ samānapade*]

The *n* of *pāna* is preferably retroflexed in a compound when a preceding member contains *r* or *ṣ*, when it means 'drinking' (*bhāva* 'state or action') or 'for drinking' (*karaṇa* 'instrument'). In Classical Sanskrit, the unretroflexed *-pāna* is much more common in the frequent word *surāpāna* 'drinking of liquor'. In the other compounds, both options are more or less equally common. The VWC volumes for the *Sūtra* literature give *surāpāṇa* 1x, *suprāpāṇā* 9x, *vṛṣapāṇa* 1x, *narapāṇa* 1x, *nṛpāṇa* 2x; versus *surāpāna* 7x, *sarvapāna* 1x, *pūrvapāna* 1x, *kṣīrapāna* 1x, *maireyapāna* 1x, *indrapāna* 2x. This distribution is inconclusive.

(**151**) 8.4.11 *prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu ca* [10 *vā*] [2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi*] [1 *raṣābhyāṁ no ṇaḥ samānapade*]

The final *n* of a nominal stem, the augment *nUM*, and the *n* of a case ending are preferably retroflexed in the second member of a compound if the first member contains *r* or *ṣ* and only the items specified in 8.4.2 intervene. The retroflexion is obligatory and inapplicable under a variety of special conditions (12 ff., 29 ff.).

I have checked out this option for final *n* in nominal stems. In the earlier language I could only find examples *with* retroflexion : *antaryāmiṇam* (*ŚB* 14.6.7.3–31 = *BĀU.* 3.7.1–23 (many times), also *MuṇḍU.* 6), *caturvāhiṇā* (*PB.* 16.13.12). In the Classical language, on the other hand, I could only find examples *with* retroflexion : *senāgrayāyinaḥ* (*Mbh.* 3.229.23), *saṁgrāmayāyinaḥ* (*Ragh.* 17.8), *vārivāhinyaḥ* (*Hariv.* 100.45), *agrayāyinā* (*Kathās.* 21.46, *-ini* ibid. 46.86, 54.4), *vipruṣavāhinyā* (*Pañc.*), *tāmbūlakaraṅkavāhinī* (*Harṣac.*) (setting aside cases such as *parivāhiṇī* (*Śak.* 5.1), where *ṇ* is obligatory by 8.4.29 *kṛty acaḥ*, and on the other side cases such as *paribhāvinam* (*Ragh.* 19.53) *paribhāvini* (*Śak.* 4.1), where *ṇ* is prohibited by 8.4.34 *na bhābhūpūkamigamipyāyīvepām*). If these examples are representative, then there must have been a shift in usage on this point. Pāṇini is in this respect closer to Vedic than to Classical usage.

(**152**) 8.4.18 *śeṣe vibhāṣā'kakhādāv aṣānta upadeśe* [14 *upasargād asamāse 'pi*] [1 *raṣābhyāṁ no ṇaḥ samānapade*]

The previous rule requires obligatory retroflexion for the *n* of the preverb *ni* in the appropriate context (in practice, when a preverb with *r* precedes) before the verbs *gad, nad, pat, dā, dhā, mā, syati, hanti, yāti, vāti, drāti,* *psāti*, *vapati*, *vahati*, *śāmyati*, *cinoti*, and *degdhi*, e.g. *praṇidadhāti* 'puts on'. In the present rule, retroflexion is extended as a marginal (*vibhāṣā*) option to *ni* before other roots, provided these do not begin with *k(h)* or end in *ṣ* in their underlying representation (*upadeśe*). Thus we could form *parinivartate* or *pariṇivartate* 'passes away'. In the cases which, according to Pāṇini's rule, have marginal (*vibhāṣā*) retroflexion of *ni*, we find that the following are cited in BR with *n* but not with *ṇ*: (*parinivartate* 'passes away' (*Mbh.*), *pariniśnath* (*pariniśiśnathaḥ*) 'push down' (*RV.*), *pariniṣīdati* 'sits around' (*RV.*), *pariniṣiñcati* 'pours down upon' (*Mbh.*) *pariniṣṭhāpayati* 'teaches thoroughly' (*Uttarar.*), *parinyasta* (*Kathās.*). With *ṇ* we find *pariṇiviś-* (*ŚBr.* 3x.), *praṇyasta* *T. Pr.* 2.20, *praṇidadhyau* 'attended to' (*BhP.*). Inconclusive, though the form preferred by Pāṇini is slightly more common in these data.

(153) 8.4.45 *yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā* [37 *padāntasya*]

A final consonant (in practice, a voiced unaspirated stop) is preferably (*vā*) turned into a nasal before a following nasal, e.g. *vāṅ nayati* or (marginally) *vāg nayati*. This is also the favoured practice in Sanskrit usage. According to Whitney, " in practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the *Prātiśākhyas* required and not permitted merely" (p. 55). See e.g. *TPr.* 8.2, *APr.* 2.5.

(154) 8.4.56 *vā'vasāne* [*jhalāṁ jaś*]

Obstruents (in practice, stops) are preferably devoiced before a pause. Here " the great weight of authority, and the invariable practice of the manuscripts, favour the surd [i. e. the voiceless stops P. K.] " (Whitney, p. 49).

(155) 8.4.57 *aṇo 'pragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ* [56 *vā*, *avasāne*]

The vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, if not *pragṛhya*, are preferably nasalized before a pause. This process is not indicated in manuscripts, but in the *Prātiśākhyas* it is either required (*RPr.* 1.16, r.63, lxiv) or given as an option (*TPr.* 15.6).

(156) 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* [58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*]

A final *anusvāra* (itself the replacement of *m* by 8.3.23 *mo 'nusvāraḥ*) preferably assimilates in position to a following consonant (excluding *h*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*). The manuscripts usually write the *anusvāra*, as it is less troublesome to do so. But the *Prātiśākhyas* all require the assimilation obligatorily (e.g. *TPr.* 5.27).

* * *

It is time to draw up our balance sheet. We have found in 138 optional rules that the preference expressed by Pāṇini agrees with the predominant usage in Sanskrit literature. These rules, which are listed below, are favourable to our hypothesis about the meaning distinction between *vā* and *vibhāṣā*. Fourteen of them have been parenthesized to indicate that the evidence, though on the favourable side, is weak for one or another reason — either because the total number of relevant forms I could find is small (e. g. 1.1.32, 6.1.4, 7.2.65, 8.4.6), or because the margin by which Pāṇini's preferred forms predominate is small (e. g. 4.3.143, 4.3.165, 6.3.49), or because there are reasonable alternative interpretations of a rule which would change its status in this regard (e. g. 3.3.14).

(**1**) **Favourable cases :**

(1.1.28)	*vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau*
(1.1.32)	*vibhāṣā jasi*
(1.1.33)	*prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca*
1.2.13	*vā gamaḥ*
1.2.23	*nopadhāt thaphāntād vā*
1.2.26	*ralo vyupadhād dhalādeḥ saṁś ca*
1.3.43	*anupasargād vā*
1.3.85	*vibhāṣā'karmakāt*
1.3.91	*dyudbhyo luṅi*
1.4.5	*vāmi*
1.4.6	*ṅiti hrasvaś ca*
2.2.37	*vāhitāgnyādiṣu*
2.3.17	*manyakarmaṇy anādare vibhāṣā'prāṇiṣu*
2.3.25	*vibhāṣā guṇe 'striyām*
2.3.59	*vibhāṣopasarge*
2.4.12	*vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānyavyañjanapaśuśakunyaśvavaḍavapūrvāparādharottarāṇām*
2.4.13	*vipratiṣiddhaṁ cānadhikaraṇavāci*
2.4.25	*vibhāṣā senāsurācchāyāśālāniśānām*
3.1.49	*vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ*
3.1.57	*irito vā*
3.1.71	*yaso 'nupasargāt*
3.1.120	*vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ*
3.1.139	*dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā*
3.1.140	*jvalitikasantebhyo ṇaḥ*

3.1.141	*śyādvyadhāsrusaṁsravatīṇavasāvahṛlihaśliṣaśvasaś ca*
3.1.143	*vibhāṣā grahaḥ*
3.2.122	*puri luṅ cāsme*
3.3.5	*vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ*
(3.3.14)	*lṛṭaḥ sad vā*
3.3.50	*vibhāṣā''ṅi rupluvoḥ*
3.3.51	*ave graho varṣapratibandhe*
3.3.53	*raśmau ca*
(3.3.55)	*parau bhuvo 'vajñāne*
3.3.63	*yamaḥ samupaniviṣu ca*
3.3.64	*nau gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ*
3.3.110	*vibhāṣā''khyānaparipraśnayor iñ ca*
(3.3.43)	*vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca*
3.3.160	*icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne*
3.4.83	*vido laṭo vā*
3.4.84	*bruvaḥ pañcānām ādita āho bruvaḥ*
4.1.34	*vibhāṣā sapūrvasya*
4.1.44	*voto guṇavacanāt*
4.1.45	*bahvādibhyaś ca*
4.1.54	*svāṅgāccopasarjanād asaṁyogopadhāt*
4.1.55	*nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca*
4.1.118	*pīlāyā vā*
4.1.119	*ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt*
4.2.23	*vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārttikīcaitrībhyaḥ*
4.2.144	*vibhāṣāmanuṣye*
4.3.14	*niśāpradośābhyāṁ ca*
4.3.24	*vibhāṣā pūrvāparāhṇābhyām*
4.3.128	*śākalād vā*
(4.3.143)	*mayaḍ vaitayor bhāṣāyām abhākṣācchādanayoḥ*
(4.3.165)	*jambvā vā*
4.4.17	*vibhāṣā vivadhāt*
4.4.113	*srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau*
5.1.4	*vibhāṣā havirapūpādibhyaḥ*
5.1.29	*vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām*
(5.1.60)	*pañcaddaśatau varge vā*
5.1.122	*pṛthvādibhya imanij vā*
5.2.43	*dvitribhyāṁ tayasy avaj vā*
5.2.77	*tāvatithaṁ grahaṇam iti lug vā*
5.3.29	*vibhāṣā parāvarābhyām*

5.3.68	*vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu*
5.3.93	*vā bahūnāṁ jātiparipraśne ḍatamac*
5.4.8	*vibhāṣā'ñcer adikstriyām*
5.4.10	*sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti cet*
5.4.52	*vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye*
5.4.72	*patho vibhāṣā*
5.4.133	*vā saṁjñāyām*
5.4.144	*vibhāṣā śyāvārokābhyām*
5.4.145	*agrāntaśuddhaśubhravṛṣavarāhebhyaś ca*
5.4.154	*śeṣād vibhāṣā*
6.1.44	*vibhāṣā pareḥ*
6.1.51	*vibhāṣā līyateḥ*
6.1.56	*bibheter hetubhaye*
6.1.122	*sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ*
6.1.150	*viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā*
6.1.208	*rikte vibhāṣā*
6.2.20	*vā bhuvanam*
6.3.16	*vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśaravarāt*
6.3.17	*ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ*
6.3.18	*śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt*
6.3.24	*vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*
(6.3.49)	*vibhāṣā catvāriṁśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām*
6.3.51	*vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu*
6.3.72	*rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā*
6.3.82	*vopasarjanasya*
6.3.100	*arthe vibhāṣā*
6.3.106	*vibhāṣā puruṣe*
6.4.38	*vā lyapi*
6.4.80	*vāṁśasoḥ*
6.4.91	*vā cittavirāge*
(6.4.136)	*vibhāṣā ṅiṣyoḥ*
7.1.7	*vetter vibhāṣā*
7.1.69	*vibhāṣā ciṇṇamuloḥ*
7.1.79	*vā napuṁsakasya*
7.1.80	*āc chīnadyor num*
7.1.97	*vibhāṣā tṛtīyādiṣv aci*
7.2.7	*ato halāder laghoḥ*
7.2.27	*vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ*
7.2.30	*apacitaś ca*

7.2.41	*iṭ sani vā*
7.2.44	*svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā*
7.2.45	*rudhādibhyaś ca*
7.2.48	*tīṣasahalubharuṣariṣaḥ*
7.2.49	*sanīvantardhabhrsjadambhuśrisvṛyūrṇubharajñapisanām*
7.2.50	*kliśaḥ ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ*
7.2.51	*pūṅaś ca*
(7.2.57)	*se 'sici kṛtacṛtacchṛdatṛdanṛtaḥ*
7.2.68	*vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām*
7.3.30	*nañaḥ śucīśvarakṣetrajñakuśalanipuṇānām*
7.3.90	*ūrṇoter vibhāṣā*
7.4.7	*uṛ ṛt*
7.4.12	*śṝdṝprāṁ hrasvo vā*
7.4.57	*muco 'karmakasya guṇo vā*
8.2.21	*aci vibhāṣā*
8.2.22	*pareś ca ghāṅkayoḥ*
8.2.33	*vā druhamuhasnuhasnihām*
8.2.74	*sipi dhāto rur vā*
8.3.2	*atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*
8.3.28	*ṅṇoḥ kukṭuk śari*
8.3.29	*ḍaḥ si dhuṭ*
8.3.30	*naś ca*
8.3.31	*śi tuk*
8.3.33	*maya uño vo vā*
8.3.71	*sivādīnāṁ vāḍvyavāye 'pi*
8.3.72	*anuviparyabhinibhyaḥ syandater aprāṇiṣu*
8.3.74	*pareś ca*
(8.3.100)	*nakṣatrād vā* (interpolated from *Gaṇapāṭha*?)
(8.4.6)	*vibhāṣauṣadhivanaspatibhyām*
8.4.11	*prātipadikāntanuṁvibhaktiṣu ca*
(8.4.18)	*śeṣe vibhāṣā'kakhādāv aṣānta upadeśe*
8.4.45	*yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā*
8.4.56	*vāvasāne*
8.4.57	*aṇo 'pragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ*
8.4.58	*anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*
8.4.59	*vā padāntasya*

On the other hand, in 19 rules the preference expressed by Pāṇini goes counter to the predominant usage in Sanskrit literature. In six cases (parenthesized) the data is scant or the interpretation is moot.

(2) Unfavourable cases :

1.4.72	*vibhāṣā kṛñi*
2.4.50	*vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*
3.1.31	*āyādaya ārdhadhātuke vā*
(3.1.58)	*jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca*
3.3.65	*kvaṇo vīṇāyāṁ ca*
(4.1.131)	*kṣudrābhyo vā*
4.3.158	*umorṇayor vā*
5.3.41	*vibhāṣāvarasya*
5.4.130	*ūrdhvād vibhāṣā*
6.1.196	*thali ca seṭīḍ anto vā*
6.3.88	*vibhāṣodare*
6.3.107	*kavaṁ coṣṇe*
6.4.18	*kramaś ca ktvi*
(6.4.62)	*syasicsīyuṭṭāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe 'jjhanagrahadṛśāṁ vā ciṇvad iṭ ca*
7.2.65	*vibhāṣā sṛjidṛśoḥ*
7.3.26	*ardhāt parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā*
(7.3.58)	*vibhāṣā ceḥ*
(7.3.73)	*vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye*
(8.2.75)	*daś ca*

This division has been established on the basis of the following criteria. Data from the *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtra* literature, representing the border between late Vedic and early Classical Sanskrit, has been given priority wherever it was available, because it is this general period to which Pāṇini himself must be assigned. Therefore, rules where Pāṇini's preference agrees with such contemporary literature but disagrees with either early Vedic or later Classical Sanskrit have been assigned to the first group, comprising the favourable cases (e.g. 1.2.13, 2.3.35, 7.3.30, 8.4.11). By the same token, rules where Pāṇini's preference disagrees with the contemporary literature have been considered unfavourable cases even if some other stage of the language shows agreement (5.4.130, the only such case which I found). If no evidence from contemporary literature came to light, rules have been judged as favourable or unfavourable on the basis of agreement with the other stages of the language, viz. later Classical Sanskrit and / or early Vedic. Rules where early Vedic and late Classical Sanskrit are at odds with each other, and no contemporary data is available to settle the issue, have been put in a third category of cases, viz., among those which give no evidence either for or against our interpretation of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* (6.4.43, 8.3.76). It was also decided to include in this neutral category rules where the evidence is contradictory, with no overall trend emerging clearly in favour of either of the two alternatives (e.g. 1.3.90, 2.4.55, 3.1.70, 6.1.215), unless such contradictory treatment of purely free variation was clearly indicated for the literature contemporaneous with Pāṇini, in which case they would be put among the unfavourable cases. As it happened, no cases of the latter type were found. Finally, the category of neutral cases contains many rules where the evidence is simply too scanty to base any conclusions on (e.g. 1.2.24, 2.4.78, 3.3.52). Among the rules discussed in this chapter, the following have had to be assigned there :

(3) Neutral cases :

1.2.16	*vibhāṣopayame*
1.2.24	*vañciluñcyṛtaś ca*
1.2.25	*tṛṣimṛṣikṛśeḥ kāśyapasya*
1.3.90	*vā kyaṣaḥ*
1.3.92	*vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ*
1.3.93	*luṭi ca kḷpaḥ*
1.4.98	*vibhāṣā kṛñi*
2.2.38	*kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*
2.3.59	*vibhāṣopasarge*
2.3.71	*kṛtyānāṁ kartari vā*
2.4.51	*ṇau ca saṁścaṅoḥ*
2.4.55	*vā liṭi*
2.4.78	*vibhāṣā ghrādheṭśāchāsaḥ*
3.1.58	*jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca*
3.1.70	*vā bhrāśabhlāśabhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣaḥ*
3.1.72	*saṁyasaś ca*
3.3.52	*pre vaṇijām*
3.3.54	*vṛṇoter ācchādane*
3.3.62	*svanahasor vā*
4.1.53	*asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā*
4.2.130	*vibhāṣā kuruyugandharābhyām*
5.4.20	*vibhāṣā bahor dhā'viprakṛṣṭakāle*
6.1.27	*vibhāṣābhyavapūrvasya*
6.1.55	*prajane vīyateḥ*
6.1.81	*vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām*
6.1.215	*vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoḥ*
6.2.196	*vibhāṣotpucche*
6.4.43	*ye vibhāṣā*

6.4.44 *tanoter yaki*
6.4.45 *sanaḥ ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām*
7.1.91 *ṇal uttamo vā*
7.2,46 *niraḥ kuṣaḥ*
7.2.56 *udito vā*
8.2.63 *naśer vā*
8.3.36 *vā śari*
8.3.37 *kupvoḥ xkaϕpau ca*
8.3.73 *veḥ skander aniṣṭhāyām*
8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor nirnivibhyaḥ*
8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ*
8.4.10 *vā bhāvakaraṇayoḥ*

In addition, of course, this group includes all *vā* and *vibhāṣā* rules which I have not specially mentioned in this chapter or the preceding chapters, because I could not find any relevant examples in Sanskrit literature, and no special comment on them was called for.

A number of rules considered optional by the tradition are probably really obligatory, as indicated above :

1.1.34 *pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṁjñāyām*
1.1.35 *svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām*
1.1.36 *antaraṁ bahiryogopasaṁvyānayoḥ*
2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ*
3.1.50 *gupeś chandasi* (Ch. 3)
6.1.27 *śṛtaṁ pāke*
6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī*
6.2.197 *dvitribhyāṁ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau*
6.2.198 *sakthaṁ cākrāntāt*
6.4.18 *kramaś ca ktvi* (possibly)

One rule considered obligatory by the tradition is probably really optional :

3.1.141 *śyādvyadhāsrusaṁsrvatīṇavasāvahṛlihaśliṣaśvasaś ca*

It is no accident that most of the reinterpretation has been from obligatory to optional rather than in the other direction. It is part of the general tendency in Pāṇinian interpretation since Patañjali to extend the scope of application of rules as much as possible. Taking a rule as optional permits the derivation of two sets of forms instead of one. This is an advantage from the viewpoint of the later Pāṇinīyas, for while the derivability of an actually non-occurring form in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not bother them, the inability to derive a form which is really encountered in usage is always viewed with alarm.

* * *

In this and the last two chapters, we have examined the relation between Pāṇini's use of *vā* and *vibhāṣā* in his optional rules and the corresponding facts of usage in literature. This relation can also be looked at from a more general point of view : we can attempt to identify special types of rules in which optionality is predominantly expressed by one of the three words. If we have succeeded in finding the right interpretation of the meaning difference between them, then we ought to be able to discover why one or the other of them should predominate in these cases.

(1) One such class of rules was already identified and discussed in Ch. 2 : those word-formation rules which are optional in the sense that they are alternatives to the analytic paraphrases which express the same meaning. We have seen that most such rules are provided with *vā* by one of the three rules 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā* (covering most compounding rules), 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā* (covering a small number of derived verb formations), and 4.1.82 *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā* (covering over 800 *taddhita* rules). That is, *rājaputraḥ* ' prince ' is preferred to *rājñaḥ putraḥ*, *cikīrṣati* ' wants to do ' is preferred to *kartum icchati*, and *gārgyaḥ* ' descendant of Garga ' is preferred to *gargasyāpatyam*. There are also obligatory compounds, derived verbs, and even a few *taddhita* formations. E. g. 4.1.77 *yūnas tiḥ*, 4.4.20 *trer mam nityam* which are obligatory and the compound rules from 2.1.11 are in the scope of *vibhāṣā* (e.g. the phrase *apa trigartebhyaḥ* is preferred to the compound *apatrigartam*). But the great majority of these rules are preferentially applied *(vā)*. In Ch. 2 we were able to verify this against the usage in Pāṇini's own text. It would be a tedious exercise to demonstrate the same thing for Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, and also a useless one because it is so obviously true.

It is worth noting, however, that the preference for the derived word rather than its analytic paraphrase is a special case of a more fundamental generalization, which holds not only in Sanskrit, but also in English and many other languages — indeed, I would be very much surprised if it does not turn out to hold in all languages. The generalization is this : *Conventional expressions tend to be used in preference to their non-conventional paraphrases.* In other words, the principle is not limited to just *taddhita* suffixes, or even to just derivational morphology. For example, we will prefer *triangle* to *three-sided figure*, *wine* to *fermented grape juice*, even though no word-formation process relates them.[92] All this is presumably a trivial consequence of the maximization of communicative efficiency and ultimately not a grammatical principle at all.

This is not to say that *any* derived word or other conventional expression is going to be more frequent than its analytic paraphrase. There will of course be rare words and marginal derivational processes in any language.

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[92] The principle does not hold for artificially introduced conventions, such as abbreviations. It is not necessarily true, for example, that *U. N.* is more frequent than *United Nations*, though it of course *may* be true.

Generally they are either obsolescent or incipient formations in the language. For example, in current English *three times* is preferred to the obsolescent *thrice*, even though with *once* and *twice* it is the other way around. Pāṇini noticed such cases also, and accounted for them by means of *vibhāṣā* word-formation rules. The point is that the principle characterizes the normal state into which the expressions of a language tend to settle.

From this point of view, the *vā* in 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām* has the same function, though it technically in Pāṇini's system expresses a preference for formations derived by special rules over formations derived by general rules. Formations derived by special rules are conventional forms, and synonymous forms derived by general morphological rules are related to them like complex expressions are related to single lexical items with the same meaning.

(2) A second category of rules where a preference for *vā* may be observed are " low-level " phonetic processes which apply with no exceptions or morphological conditions, and come under the heading *saṁhitāyām* ' in close juncture '. Most of them are placed in the last three sections of the grammar *(Tripādī)* where the rules are linearly ordered :

8.3.26 *he mapare vā*
8.3.37 *kupvoḥ xkaϕpau ca* [*vā*]
8.4.45 *yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā*
8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṁ dve* [*vā*]
8.4.47 *anaci ca* [*vā*]
8.4.56 *vā'vasāne*
8.4.59 *vā padāntasya*

There is also one example of such a rule outside the *Tripādī :*

6.1.76 *padāntād vā*

There does not seem to be a single rule o this type in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which has been designated as optional by means of the word *vibhāṣā*, although a few have *anyatarasyām* (8.4.62 *jhayo ho 'nyatarasyām* and the next three rules).

This fact is suggestive, even though no immediately obvious explanation for it comes from what we know about the character of such rules in languages where they have been studied closely at first hand. Certainly low-level phonetic rules are often preferentially applied. A rule like "flapping" in American English (e. g. *beat it* [biyDit]) is not applied only in very formal or self-conscious speech. But this is by no means true of all such rules. The process which glottalizes *t* e. g. in *beat me* [biyt' miy] is much less strong, and there are speakers who do not apply it except perhaps in very rapid or careless speech. There is a range of preference among such rules, then, and some of them certainly have the marginal status which Pāṇini terms *vibhāṣā*.

An interesting possibility here is that the absence of *vibhāṣā* low-level phonetic rules in Sanskrit is due to its lack of special forms used in informal speech. Any ordinary language has them, as far as I know. But "learned languages", such as modern Sanskrit, do not necessarily have them. Although Sanskrit may today be used in conversation both about scholarly and quite mundane topics, e. g. among pandits from different parts of India who do not speak the same mother tongue, it does not, as far as I have been able to observe, have the range of speech *registers* characteristic of an ordinary spoken language, and so lacks also the "fast speech rules" of English and other modern languages. To be sure, pandits from North India tend to syncopate and apocopate unstressed vowels, e. g. *ap(a)vād(a)*. But this seems to be a matter of "Sanskrit with a Hindi accent", in other words a carryover of vernacular phonological rules, rather than an autonomous, systematic phonological process of spoken Sanskrit. If Sanskrit even in Pāṇini's time lacked such rules, as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* appears to indicate, it can only mean that Sanskrit was even then confined to the more elevated stylistic registers, where such rules would not be applied. Sanskrit would already have ceased to be the language of the family and of the bazaar, supplanted there by some form of Prakrit. The status of Sanskrit would have been analogous to that of Classical Arabic in modern Arab countries, or standard German in Switzerland—a situation which C. F. Ferguson (1959) has called 'diglossia'.

It is perhaps also possible that such rules did exist, and Sanskrit thus possessed a style of familiar rapid or careless speech, but that Pāṇini chose not to include it in his Grammar, possibly because he disapproved of it. Then the question arises why he included so many other *vibhāṣā* processes in the Grammar. The next set of cases might give us an answer.

(3) The word *vibhāṣā* is mostly used in restrictive rules (*niyamas*), which make some general rule optional in particular contexts, e.g.

1.3.85 *vibhāṣā'karmakāt*
3.3.5 *vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ*
3.3.160 *icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne*

Somewhat less often it extends an already given process to new environments :

3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ*
3.1.139 *dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā*
3.3.50 *vibhāṣā''ṅi rupluvoḥ*

What is remarkable is that *vibhāṣā* very rarely occurs in a rule which introduces a new process. The following four rules are, I believe, the only cases of this type :

4.4.113 *srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau*
5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu*

5.4.20 *vibhāṣā bahor dhā viprakṛṣṭakāle*
5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye*

With *anyatarasyām* and *vā*, however, this happens quite often.

With *anyatarasyām :* 2.3.72, 3.1.122, 4.1.13, 4.1.140, 4.3.64, 4.3.81, 4.4.56, 4.4.68, 5.1.26, 5.1.53, 5.2.56, 5.2.96, 5.2.109, 5.3.6, 5.3.21, 5.3.44, 5.3.64, 5.3.109, 5.4.42, 6.1.39, 6.4.70, 6.4.93, 6.4.107, 7.1.35, 7.2.101, 8.4.62. With *vā* : 3.2.106, 3.3.131, 3.4.96, 4.3.143, 5.1.122, 5.2.43, 5.3.78, 5.3.93, 6.4.62, 7.3.73, 7.4.57, 8.2.6, 8.2.74, 8.4.45. (These are not necessarily complete listings.)

Moreover, all four rules where *vibhāṣā* is found with a new process are rules which are *apavādas* (exceptions) to other general processes, and apply under already stated conditions, which are continued by *anuvṛtti* from the earlier stated general rules whose range of applicability they serve to limit. We never find *vibhāṣā* in rules which initiate a completely new topic, with both a new process and new environments. But *vā* and *anyatarasyām* are certainly used in these circumstances also :

2.3.72 *tulyārthair atulopamābhyāṁ tṛtīyā'nyatarasyām*
5.4.42 *bahvalpārthāc chas kārakād anyatarasyām*
6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe 'jjhanagrahadṛśāṁ vā ciṇvad iṭ ca*
8.4.45 *yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā*
8.4.62 *jhayo ho 'nyatarasyām*

In other words, Pāṇini does not report any grammatical processes which are at the same time marginal *(vibhāṣā)* and isolated (do not fit into an existing thematic context). *Vibhāṣā* rules are not introduced for their own sake, but in order to limit and extend obligatory rules of the Grammar. The situation is similar in the case of Pāṇini's Vedic rules, which also come in only " a propos " of Classical Sanskrit phenomena. Neither belong to the core of the language studied by Pāṇini. And we may therefore assume that, just as there are many Vedic processes which are not covered in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, simply because they would have taken the analysis too far afield, so there must have been many marginal processes of Pāṇini's own language which are not covered either, and for just the same reason. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not give us a sharp picture of Sanskrit at the margins. Many peripheral processes, which undoubtedly included various Prakritisms, were excluded. Perhaps, therefore, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives us a rather more conservative form of Sanskrit than is likely to have been in actual use in Pāṇini's time — not necessarily because of a deliberate purism on his part (though that may also have been a factor), but even simply because some of the rough edges have been eliminated. If this is admitted even as a possibility, it becomes a rather important consideration to keep in mind when attempting to establish the date of Pāṇini by means of comparing his rules with various stages of Sanskrit literature.

CHAPTER V

MINOR DEVICES FOR EXPRESSING OPTIONALITY

All our attention has so far gone to just two out of the three basic expressions of optionality, *vā* and *vibhāṣā*. The reason for focusing on them first is that it is their interpretation which our new theory especially changes. Instead of both having the neutral meaning " sometimes, optionally " which the tradition assigns to them, they are polar opposites, denoting frequent or preferred options and rare or marginal options, respectively. Only for the third expression, *anyatarasyām*, does our theory retain the neutral meaning, though it too is put into a new light in that it is now opposed to two other possibilities : in saying *anyatarasyām*, Pāṇini expressly declines to make a judgment about which option is preferred.

Among the options marked with *anyatarasyām*, we find not only cases where both variants are about equally frequent, but also a fair number of cases in which one or the other is clearly dominant in the extant texts. Some of the most striking examples are collected below.

(1) *Anyatarasyām* marking the more common alternative :

(*a*) 2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*

The rule allows optional substitution of *ghas* for *ad* ' eat ' in the perfect. The form *jaghāsa* is attested, but the form *āda* is not (Whitney, *Roots*).

(*b*) 4.1.8 *pādo 'nyatarasyām*

A stem ending in *pād* ' foot ' can optionally get the suffix *ṄīP* in the feminine, e.g. *śitipād* or *śitipadī* 'white-footed '. The suffixed form is favoured (cf. W. 2.2, 388).

(*c*) 6.3.59 *ekahalādau pūrayitavye 'nyatarasyām* [57 *udakasyodaḥ*] [1 *uttarapade*]

The stem *udaka* ' water ' is optionally replaced by *uda* before a second member of a compound beginning in a single consonant and denoting a container. Words like *udakumbha* ' water jar ', *udakamaṇḍalu* ' water jar ', *udacamasa* ' water cup ', *udadhi* ' water container (ocean[1] etc.) ', *udapātra* ' water vessel ' are much more common than words like *udakakumbha*, *udakakamaṇḍalu*, *udakacamasa* etc.

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[1] In this specialized meaning it would have obligatory *uda* by 6.3.57 *udakasyodaḥ saṁjñāyām*.

(*d*) 6.3.77 *nago 'prāṇiṣv anyatarasyām* [75 *prakṛtyā*] [73 *nañaḥ*] [1 *uttarapade*]

The word *naÑ* 'not' optionally retains its *n* in the compound *naga* when this denotes inanimate things, i.e. *naga* or *aga* 'tree, mountain' (literally 'motionless'). *Naga* is the more common form of the word.

(*e*) 6.4.107 *lopaś cānyatarasyāṁ mvoḥ* [106 *utaḥ, pratyayāt, asaṁyogapūrvāt*] [1 *aṅgasya*]

Before *m* and *v*, suffixed *u* is optionally deleted, except after clusters.[2] Forms like *sunmaḥ, sunvaḥ* 'we / we two are pressing' are more common than forms like *sunumaḥ, sunuvaḥ*.

(*f*) 8.4.62 *jhayo ho 'nyatarasyām* [61 *pūrvasya*] [58 *savarṇaḥ*] [8.2.108 *saṁhitāyām*]

After an obstruent stop[3], *h* can become a homorganic sound, e.g. *vāg hasati* or *vāg ghasati* 'the voice is laughing'. "In practice, the latter method [i.e. the assimilation to a homorganic sound] is almost invariably followed, and the grammarians of the *Prātiśākhya* period are nearly unanimous in requiring it." (Whitney, p. 56).

(2) *Anyatarasyām* marking the less common alternative :

(*a*) 3.1.122 *amāvasyad anyatarasyām*

The rule allows for optional *amāvasya* beside *amāvāsya* 'night of the new moon'. The form with long *ā* is normally used.

(*b*) 4.2.105 *aiṣamohyaḥśvaso 'nyatarasyām* [104 *tyap*] [92 *śeṣe*]

The suffix *tyaP* is optionally added to *aiṣamaḥ* 'this year', *hyaḥ* 'yesterday', *śvaḥ* 'tomorrow' in the *śeṣa* meanings (see Ch. 4, rule 4.2.130), e.g. *hyastya* 'of yesterday', or *hyastana* (by 4.3.23 *sāyaṁciraṁprāhṇeprage 'vyayebhyaṣ ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca*). The *tya* forms are not attested (W. 2.2, 699).

(*c*) 5.2.56 *viṁśatyādibhis tamaḍ anyatarasyām* [48 *tasya pūraṇe*] [47 *saṁkhyāyāḥ*]

Viṁśati 'twenty' etc. can optionally get *tama* to express the ordinal, e.g. *viṁśatitama* 'twentieth', *triṁśat-*

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[2] The next rule 108 *nityaṁ karoteḥ* makes the deletion obligatory for *karoti* 'to make', e.g. *kurmaḥ* 'we are making'.

[3] In practice, a word-final one, which is necessarily voiced and unaspirated, by 8.2.39 *jhalāṁ jaśo 'nte*.

tama 'thirtieth', or alternatively *viṁśa, triṁśa,* etc. by 48 *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ.* According to Renou (1961, 389) the *tama* forms are "less usual, at least in the early period; many endings in *tama* arise in the epics."

(*d*) 7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ āśiṣy anyatarasyām* [6.4.1 *aṅgasya*]

The imperative suffixes *tu* and *hi* can be replaced by *tātAṄ* optionally in expressing a wish, e.g. *jīvatu* or *jīvatāt* 'may he live long'. The *tāt* forms are in the minority, cf. Whitney p. 235, 257, 266, 270.

Such cases show that *anyatarasyām* cannot be identified with either *vā* or *vibhāṣā.* They also show that *anyatarasyām* cannot be interpreted as delimiting a strictly intermediate range of frequency or preference which falls between the other two. Rather, it must be taken as a *neutral* term covering the full range of optionality and thus subsumes *vā* and *vibhāṣā* as special cases. While *anyatarasyām* is frequently used for intermediate cases, which look like truly "free" variation (e.g. 3.1.38, 3.1.41, 3.1.54, 6.1.59, 6 4 53, 7.2.101, 7.3.43, 7.4.41, 8.2.56) it definitely ranges over the whole scale. *Why* Pāṇini did not use *vā* and *vibhāṣā* in all cases where a preference is discernible is hard to say. It may well be that these preferences were not so clear in Pāṇini's own speech as they now in retrospect appear from the Sanskrit corpus taken as a whole. A relatively modest margin of preference (let us say, a ratio of three to two) will reveal itself to the statistics of a philologist but to the introspection of the native speaker of a living language it may be scarcely distinguishable from absolutely equal frequency.

A few details about the use of *anyatarasyàm*, which may be significant as additional support for this interpretation, can be mentioned here.

(1) *Anyatarasyām* never figures in any Vedic rules. It could of course be an accident, but given that *vā* and *vibhāṣā* are used as often as 16 and 7 times, respectively, in Vedic rules (Ch. 2), it is more probably due to the special character of *anyatarasyām.* As S. D. Joshi has suggested to me, the reason may be that in the Vedic literature, a limited if sizeable corpus, Pāṇini could more easily gauge the relative preferences among options, and if necessary even check them by counting their occurrences in the text. When describing the Classical language of his own time, he naturally depended more on his own intuitive judgements as a native speaker, with the uncertainties to which such judgements are subject, as just noted. We may compare the performance of modern linguists in this regard. Their grammars are, for the same reason, generally able to give better statistical information on the frequency of linguistic variants in dead languages than in living language — compare any of the standard Sanskrit

grammars (Whitney, Renou, Wackernagel) with grammars of equal size for modern languages.

(2) Optional rules which introduce *two* alternative processes by means of *ca* or a *dvandva* compound usually have *anyatarasyām :* 4.1.140 *apūrvapadād anyatarasyāṁ yaḍḍhakañau,*[4] 4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyāṁ khañ ca,*[5] 4.3.64 *aśabde yatkhāv anyatarasyām.*[6] The neutral term was presumably necessary because the two options have different frequencies relative to each other. The only rule I am aware of where a word other than *anyatarasyām* is used in such circumstances is 4.4.113 *srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau,* where the two *vibhāṣā* suffixes differ only in that *Ḍyat* has *svarita* accent, and *Ḍya* has *udātta* accent, i.e. *srotyà* and *srotyá,* as against the non-*vibhāṣā* alternative *srotasyà* (see Ch. 4).

(3) Setting aside the *mahāvibhāṣās* and related cases (Ch. 2, items 11–15), the longest sequences in which an expression for " optionally " is continued involve *anyatarasyām.* The longest uninterrupted sequences are 6.3.54 ff. (10 rules) and 5.4.42 ff. (8 rules), both with *anyatarasyām. Vā* and *vibhāṣā* only reach up to 6 rules (6.1.51, 8.3.126). The longest interrupted sequence, where the expression therefore must be provided with a *svarita* accent, is 5.2.96–117 *(anyatarasyām)* against 7.2.41–51 *(vā).* This is understandable on the basis of our interpretation because the neutral term *anyatarasyām* will be applicable to any sequence of optional rules, whereas the chances that the more specific terms *vā* and *vibhāṣā* will be applicable are naturally more limited as the sequence gets longer.

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[4] After *kula* 'family', a descendant can be expressed optionally by *yaT* (*ya* with *svarita* accent) or *ḍhakaÑ* (= *eyaka* with initial accent and *vṛddhi*), the other option being *kha* (= *īna*) by the preceding rule 4.1.139 *kulāt khaḥ,* i. e. *kulya, kauleyaka, or kulīya.*

[5] After *yuṣmad* and *asmad* (the second and first person pronouns) the suffixes *cha* (= *īya,* carried over by *anuvṛtti* from 4.2.137) and *khaÑ* (= *īna* with initial accent and *vṛddhi*) can optionally be added to express the *śeṣa* meanings. The alternative to these two suffixes is to add *aṆ* by the general rule 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ.* Thus we get e.g. *asmadīya, āsmākīna,* or *āsmāka,* the latter two by virtue of 4.3 2 *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau,* which replaces the stems *yuṣmad, asmad,* by *yuṣmāka, asmāka* before *khaÑ* and *aṆ.*

[6] A stem ending in *varga* 'order' optionally gets the suffixes *yaT* (= *yà*) or *kha* (= *īna*) if preceded by a word not denoting a sound (i.e. to exclude cases like *kavarga* 'the velar series (of consonants) '). The third alternative is *cha* (= *īya*) by the preceding rule 4.3.63 *vargāntāc ca.* The alternatives are, then, *vāsudevavargya, vāsudevavargīṇa* and *vāsudevavargīya.*

(4) Finally, a striking but isolated and puzzling fact : *anyatarasyām* never occurs in the beginning of a rule, and only rarely in the middle (6.4.107 *lopaś cānyatarasyāṁ mvoḥ*). It cannot be an accident, for *vibhāṣā* is initial 78 out of 112 times, and even *vā*, invariably an enclitic in ordinary Sanskrit, is initial 34 out of 106 times. But I have no explanation to offer for this restricted positioning of *anyatarasyām*.

There are uses of *ca* which also serve to mark an option. But it would be a mistake to think that *ca* can simply mean ' optionally '. *Ca* always means ' and, also ', which under certain definite circumstances logically comes to have the same effect as ' optionally '. Pāṇini indicates optionality by *ca* only in this area of logical overlap, and there he does so always when it is possible.

Normally, items are continued by *anuvṛtti* from one rule into the next until blocked by an incompatible item. For example, take this sequence :

4.2.38 *bhikṣādibhyo 'ṇ* " after *bhikṣā* etc., *aṆ* "
4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanyarājaputravatsamanuṣyājād vuñ* " after *gotra* names and after *ukṣan*, *uṣṭra*, etc., *vuÑ̀* "
4.2.40 *kedārād yañ ca* " after *kedāra*, also *yaÑ̀* "
4.2.41 *ṭhañ kavacinaś ca* " *ṭhaÑ*, also after *kavacin* "

In 39, the new context and new suffix cancel the old context and old suffix. In 40, there is also a new context and a new suffix, but the new suffix *yaÑ̀* is provided with *ca*, which prevents it from cancelling *vuÑ* of the preceding rule. Rule 40 therefore means that after *kedāra*, both the suffixes *yuÑ* and *vuÑ* are allowed. In the next rule, both context and suffix are again new, but this time the context *kavacinaḥ* has *ca*, so that the preceding context is not cancelled. Rule 41 means, therefore, that both *kedāra* and *kavacin* get the suffix *ṭhaÑ*. Altogether, the three rules 39–41 abbreviate five rules :

(*a*) after *gotra* etc.	— *vuÑ̀*
(*b*) after *kedāra*	— *vuÑ*
(*c*) after *kedāra*	— *yaÑ̀*
(*d*) after *kedāra*	— *ṭhaÑ̀*
(*e*) after *kavacin*	— *ṭhaÑ̀*

The function of *ca*, then, is to allow the continuation of an item from a preceding rule into a rule containing an incompatible item, which would otherwise cancel it. For example, if we deleted *ca* in 40 *kedārād yañ ca*, *vuñ* would no longer be allowed after *kedāra*. If we shifted *ca* to make the rule read *kedārāc ca yañ* (or more idiomatically *yañ kedārāc ca*), it would instead put *yaÑ* after *gotra* names, *ukṣan*, *uṣṭra*, and the other items listed in rule 39.[7]

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[7] This is merely a brief illustration of those uses of *ca* which are relevant here. There is much more to the role of *ca* in Pāṇini's system of abbreviatory conventions. A fuller account will be presented in a projected study by S. D. Joshi and myself. Cf. also Bahulikar (1974).

Ca is here used to state an option between processes which would otherwise not both apply in the same environment. In no sense does *ca* have the meaning " optionally ", but it has in these cases the same effect as " optionally " would have, due to the fact that it cancels the normal blocking of *anuvṛtti* by incompatible items, simply by virtue of its ordinary meaning " and, also ".

In order for *ca* to be used to convey an option, the first condition which must be fulfilled is that the option must be between two processes in some shared environment. An expression for " optionally " must be used instead if the option is between applying a process and not doing anything, as in rules of the following sort :

3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṁ vā* (Ch. 2)
6.4.107 *lopaś cāsyānyatarasyāṁ mvoḥ* (le above, p. 195)
8.4.45 *yaro 'nunāsike 'nunāsiko vā* (Ch. 4)

The second condition which must be fulfilled is that the two processes must be contained in adjacent rules. If the rules have to be separated, whether for reasons of *anuvṛtti* or of ordering, only an expression for " optionally " can be used. Such options between non-adjacent rules are very common. When a special rule is optional in some sub-context, its alternative is a general rule which may stand at some distance :

3.3.14 *lṛṭaḥ sad vā* (general rule : 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthasthamibvasmastātāṁjhathāsāthāṁdhvamiḍvahimahiṅ*)
4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* (general rule : 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*)
4.3.24 *vibhāṣā pūrvāparāhṇābhyām* (general rule : 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*)
7.4.7 *ur ṛt* (general rule : 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*)

(See Ch. 4 on these rules).

But under the indicated conditions, Pāṇini uses *ca* instead of one of the words for " optionally " whenever possible, in numerous rules like the following :

2.3.3 *tṛtīyā ca hoś chandasi*
3.2.97 *sthaḥ ka ca*
5.1.92 *saṁparipūrvāt kha ca*
5.4.22 *samūhavac ca bahuṣu*
8.3.37 *kupvoḥ xkaφpau ca*

I say " whenever possible " because other aspects of the system sometimes forbid it. One factor which in a number of rules forces the use of *vā* etc. instead of *ca* is the need to continue optionality into the following rules. This situation arises as follows :

The expression *vā* etc. denoting optionality are routinely continued into succeeding rules by virtue of any of the four kinds of special indicators discussed in Chapter 2. The particle *ca* itself is not continued in the same way. Similarly, the *ca* which functions to block the cancelling of *anuvṛtti*, and thus to combine two rules into one, allows *vā* etc. to be continued but never *ca*. To see this, consider this sequence of rules :

5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhya imanij vā* [119 *tasya bhāvaḥ*] " to *pṛthu* etc., the suffix *imanIC* is optionally added to denote a state. " (The other option is *tva* or *taL* by 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau.*)

5.1.123 *varṇadṛdhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ ca* [122 *imanij vā*] [119 *tasya bhāvaḥ*] " to colours and *dṛḍha* etc., also *ṢyaÑ* is added (as well as optionally *imanIC*), to denote a state. " The alternatives *tva* and *taL* are still permitted since *vā* has been continued by *ca* along with *imanIC.*

5.1.124 *guṇavacanādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca* [123 *ṣyañ*] [119 *tasya bhāvaḥ*] " to adjectives and *brāhmaṇa* etc., *ṢyaÑ* is added also to denote an activity (as well as to denote a state). "

The point to note here is that *ca* in 123 brings down *vā* along with the process from 122, but *ca* in 124 does *not* bring down *ca* along with the process from 123, so that 124 *only* prescribes the suffix *ṢyaÑ*.

This is the regular pattern of *anuvṛtti*, which also holds with abbreviatory, incompatibility-cancelling *ca*. When *ca* does not have this function, but is added redundantly to a rule introducing a new condition under which a rule is to be applied, invariably to the first or only word of this new condition, *everything* in the preceding rule is extended to this new environment. *Ca* in this case can be translated as " ditto ". For example :

2.3.43 *sādhunipuṇābhyām arcāyāṁ saptamy aprateḥ* " to *sādhu* and *nipuṇa* denoting veneration, the locative suffixes are added, except when they are combined with *prati.* "

2.4.44 *prasitotsukābhyāṁ tṛtīyā ca* [43 *saptamī*] " to *prasita* and *utsuka,* also the instrumental suffixes are added (as well as the locative suffixes). "

2.3.45 *nakṣatre ca lupi* " ditto to a sign of the zodiac with *lup* deletion. "

In rule 45, the entire process of the preceding rule, i.e. both *tṛtīyā* and *saptamī*, are extended to a new environment. It is in effect a single rule and *ca* in it does not serve to block the discontinuation of an item in *anuvṛtti*. In such cases, the exact process or processes of the preceding rule is to be carried over. Other examples of this case are 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhipatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiś ca*, and 3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle.*

Because of these strict conventions regulating the continuation of items in rules, Pāṇini is sometimes compelled to use *vā* etc. instead of *ca* even though the alternative process is present in the immediately preceding rule, in order to secure the continuation of optionality further on. The following cases show this situation :

(*a*) 2.3.71 *kṛtyānāṁ kartari vā* [50 *ṣaṣṭhī*] " to *kṛtya* forms, the genitive endings are optionally added to express the agent. "[8]

2.3.72 *tulyārthair atulopamābhyāṁ tṛtīyā 'nyatarasyām* " to stems connected with words denoting equality, except for *tulā* ' equality ' and *upamā* ' resemblance ', the instrumental endings are optionally added. "

2.3.73 *caturthī cāśiṣy āyuṣyamadrabhadrakuśalasukhārthahitaiḥ* [72 *anyatarasyām*] " to stems connected with *āyuṣya* ' long life ', *madra* ' happiness ', etc., the dative endings are optionally added. "

Rule 72 involves the genitive as the other option, which is present by *anuvṛtti* in the preceding rule. The same meaning could have been obtained with *ca*. But *anyatarasyām* had to be used because it needed to be continued into 73.

(*b*) 4.1.140 *apūrvapadād anyatarasyāṁ yaḍḍhakañau* (See p. 197, fn. 4). *Ca* could also have continued *kha (= īna)* from the preceding rule, but *anyatarasyām* had to be used because it needed to be carried over into the following two rules : 4.1.141 *mahākulād añkhañau* " after *mahākula* ' a great family ', a descendant can be expressed optionally by *aÑ* and *khaÑ* (= *a* and *īna*, both with initial *vṛddhi* and accent) ", the alternative being *kha* (= *īna* with no *vṛddhi* and suffix accent) from 139 ; and 4.1.142 *duṣkulād ḍhak*, " after *duṣkula* ' a bad family ', a descendant can be expressed optionally by *ḍhak* (= *eya* with initial *vṛddhi*), along with *kha* once more from 139.

A puzzling feature of this example is how *anyatarasyām* can be continued from 140 into the next two rules without the help of *ca*. As these rules introduce new processes, one would expect them to have to be read as obligatory as they stand. I offer as one possible answer that all elements of general *(utsarga)* rules are automatically brought over into adjacent special *(apavāda)* rules (unless of course the latter contained something with specifically negates the former). Since 141, 142 are *apavādas* of 140, this would justify the formulation. It would also explain why *nityam* ' always ' had to be mentioned in rules like 4.1.35 *nityaṁ sapatnyādiṣu*, 4.3.144 *nityaṁ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ*, 6.4.108 *nityaṁ karoteḥ*, all of them obligatory *apavādas* to preceding optional general rules.

(*c*) 5.2.95 *rasādibhyaś ca* [94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*] " in the meanings ' having——, possessing——', the suffix *matUP* (unaccented *mat*) is added to *rasa* ' juice, taste ' etc. "

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[8] The alternative being the instrumental endings by 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*.

(*d*) 5.2.96 *prāṇisthād āto laj anyatarasyām* [94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti*] " to a stem ending in *ā* denoting something located in an animate object, *laC* (= *lá*) is optionally added (in the same meanings). "

The purpose of using *anyatarasyām* instead of *ca* in 96 is again to enable it to be carried over into what follows, not merely the next rule but all the way up to 5.2.117. It has the status of an *adhikāra* and must be assumed to carry a *svarita* accent to enable it to continue with the new processes of the sequel.

(*e*) 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari cviḥ* " to a nominal stem connected with *kṛ*, *bhū*, or *as*, the suffix *CvI* is added to express the agent's becoming. "

5.4.51 *arurmanaścakṣuścetorahorajasāṁ lopaś ca* [50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari cviḥ*] " *arus* ' wounded ' etc. in addition lose their final sound. "

5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye* [50 *kṛbhvastiyoge saṁpadyakartari*] " to express totality of becoming, *sātI* is optionally added. "

5.4.53 *abhividhau saṁpadā ca* [52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye*] [50 *saṁpadyakartari*] " to express totality of becoming, *sātI* is optionally added to a nominal stem connected with *sam* + *pad* ".

Rule 52 could have been formulated as **sāti ca kārtsnye* were it not for the fact that 53 would then have to be wrongly read as obligatory.

An additional complication arises in the following cases :

(*f*) 8.2.73 *tipy anasteḥ* [72 *daḥ*] [66 *saḥ*] [8.1.16 *padasya*] " a word-final *s* becomes *d* before the (deleted) 3. sg. ending *tiP*, except in *asti* ' be ' ".

8.2.74 *sipi dhāto rur vā* [66 *saḥ*] [8.1.16 *padasya*] " word-final *s* in a root optionally becomes *rU* before the (deleted) 2. sg. ending *siP* ".

8.2.75 *daś ca* [74 *sipi dhāto rur vā*] [8.1.16 *padasya*] " a word-final *d* in a root optionally becomes *rU* before the (deleted) 2. sg. ending *siP*. "

As these rules stand in the present text, they do not say what they are supposed to say. Rule 74 actually says that *s* before *siP* either becomes *rU* or remains unchanged. But it is supposed to say that *s* before *siP* either becomes *rU* or turns to *d* as in the preceding rule. But this is against normal *anuvṛtti*, where an incompatible item cannot be continued into the next rule without *ca*. Thus, *ca* would have been technically more accurate than *vā* in 74.

Following a suggestion by S. D. Joshi, we may construe 74 as two separate rules in the original text :

tipy anasteḥ	" *s* → *d* before *tiP*, except in *asti* "
sipi dhātoḥ	" *s* → *d* before *siP*, in a root "
rur vā	" *s* → *rU* before *siP*, in a root, optionally "
daś ca	" *d* → *rU* before *siP*, in a root, optionally ".

This *yogavibhāga* yields exactly the desired processes. The reason for formulating 74 with *vā* rather than *ca* is evidently to make 75 *daś ca* a simple option of changing *d* to *rU* or doing nothing to it. If the preceding rule were **ruś ca, daś ca* would mean that *d* is either changed to *rU* or changed to *d*, which also gives the correct result, but via an unnecessarily complex derivation involving the vacuous substitution of *d* for *d*.

There is still another circumstance which leads Pāṇini to use a word for " optionally " even though, by what I have said so far, he ought to use *ca*. This can be seen in the next two examples.

(*g*) 6.4.92 *mitāṁ hrasvaḥ* [90 *ṇau*] [89 *upadhāyāḥ*] " a penultimate vowel in a root with diacritic *M* becomes short. "

6.4.93 *ciṇṇamulor dīrgho 'nyatarasyām* [92 *mitām*] [90 *ṇau*] [62 *upadhāyāḥ*] " a penultimate vowel in a root with diacritic *M* becomes optionally long before the causative suffix *Ṇi.* "

6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ* [92 *ṇau*] [89 *upadhāyāḥ*] " a penultimate vowel becomes short before the causative suffix *Ṇi* if the suffix *KHaC* follows. "

(*h*) 7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṝtām* [10 *guṇaḥ*] [9 *liṭi*] " the roots *ṛch* and *ṛ* and roots in *ṝ* get *guṇa* before the perfect endings. "

7.4.12 *śṝdṝprāṁ hrasvo vā* [9 *liṭi*] " the roots *śṝ*, *dṝ*, and *pṝ* optionally get a short vowel before the perfect endings. "

7.4.13 *ke 'ṇaḥ* [12 *hrasvaḥ*] " before the *(taddhita)* suffix *ka*, (long) *a*, *i*, and *u* become short. "

Why was not 6.4.93 formulated as **ciṇṇamulor dīrghaś ca* and 7.4.12 as **śṝdṝprāṁ hrasvaś ca* ? The answer, I think, is that Pāṇini is reluctant to use *ca* when not merely a new context or process is to be added, but a context or process is introduced which directly contradicts a context or process required by earlier rules or by general conditions of the grammatical system. Thus, *dīrgha* ' long ' in 6.4.93 as a process is the direct opposite of *hrasva* ' short ' in 6.4.92, and *hrasva* ' short ' is inherently contradictory to *guṇa* in the preceding rules.

The avoidance of *ca* when conventions on the interpretation of rules or items stated in preceding rules are directly negated is seen more clearly in contexts than in processes. Pāṇini here typically replaces *ca* by *api* ' also, even'. Most occurrences of *api* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are logically equivalent to *ca*, and their appearance can be explained by this tendency.

(*a*) 1.4.81 *chandasi pare 'pi* [80 *te, dhātoḥ*] "in Vedic they (*gatis*) also come after the verb." (The preceding rule 1.4.80 *te prāg dhātoḥ* says that *gatis* are placed before the verb).

(*b*) 3.3.145 *anavakḷptyamarṣayor akiṁvṛtte 'pi* [144 *liṅlṛṭau*] "*liṅ* and *lṛṭ* express rejection of possibility and inability to stand (something), also when no form of *kim* is used." (The preceding rule 3.3.144 *kiṁvṛtte liṅlṛṭau* has just introduced the condition *kiṁvṛtte* "when a form of *kim* is used".)

(*c*) 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt* [124 *janapadatadavadhyoḥ*] [121 *vuñ*] [120 *vṛddhāt*] "the suffix *vuÑ* (= *aka* with initial *vṛddhi* and accent) is added to stems denoting a country and what borders on a country, even when the first syllable is not *vṛddha*, i. e. does not contain a *vṛddhi* vowel." Here the contradictory condition *vṛddhāt* "when the first syllable is *vṛddha*" is in force from 4.2.120.

(*d*) 6.4.75 *bahulaṁ chandasy amāṅyoge 'pi* [74 *na māṅyoge*] [71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*, 72 *āḍ ajādīnām*] "the augment *aṬ* (*āṬ* before vowels) is prefixed to a verb stem before *luṅ*, *laṅ*, and *lṛṅ* variously in Vedic even when it is not connected with *māÑ*." (This complements the opposite condition of 74 *na māṅyoge*).

(*e*) 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye 'pi* [1 *raṣābhyāṁ no ṇaḥ samānapade*] "after *r* and *ṣ*, *n* in the same word becomes *ṇ*, even when a vowel, *h* or glide (*y*, *v*), a velar, a labial, the preverb *āÑ*, or the augment *nUM* intervene". (The preceding rule has introduced the *n* → *ṇ* change only directly after *r* and *ṣ*).[9]

Apart from these cases, *api* occurs in rules with the finite verb *dṛśya(n)te*, of the type 6.4.73, 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate*, 3.2.101 *anyeṣv api dṛśyate*, 3.2.75 *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyante* (also 3.2.178, 3.3.150, 5.3.14, 6.3.137). All these rules except for 3.2.101 are either Vedic rules or appended to Vedic rules to extend some Vedic phenomenon sporadically to the Classical language. The only other kind of use of *api* is found in 3.1.84 *chandasi śāyaj api* (again a Vedic rule), where Pāṇini's normal custom would have been to say *ca*. These rules give the impression of afterthoughts added at a late stage in the composition of the system.[10]

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[9] Other examples of this use of *api* are 1.4.105 *yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ*, 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣadruhaduhayujavidabhidacchidajinīrājām upsarge 'pi kvip*, 8.1.35 *chandasy anekam api sākāṅkṣam*, 8.1.68 *sagatir api tiṅ*, 8.2.86 *guror anṛto 'nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*, 8.3.58 *nuṁvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye 'pi*, 8.3.63 *prāk śatād aḍvyavāye 'pi*, 8.3.71 *sivādīnāṁ vā 'ḍvyavāye 'pi*, 8.4.5 *praniranttaḥśarekṣuplakṣāmrakārṣyakhadirapīyūkṣābhyo 'saṁjñāyām api*, 8.4.14 *upasargad asamāse 'pi ṇopadeśasya*, 8.4.38 *padavyavāye 'pi.*).

A counterpart of *api* 'also, even' is the particle *eva* 'only'. It serves to mark the focus of a restriction.

(*a*) 1.4.8 *patiḥ samāsa eva* [7 *ghi*] "*pati* is *ghi* only in a compound." The previous rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi* makes certain words in *i* and *u* generally *ghi* (cf. Ch. 3, rule 1.4.9 for discussion). This rule restricts the rule from applying to *pati* except when it is compounded. Had the rule been formulated as **patir eva samāse*", its import would have been quite different : "in compounds, only *pati* is *ghi*".

(*b*) 4.3.69 *adhyāyeṣv evarṣeḥ* [67 *ṭhañ*] "the suffix *ṭhuÑ* is added after a stem denoting a sage only when it is connected with *adhyāya* 'chapter'." Restated as **adhyāyeṣv ṛṣer eva* it would have meant "the suffix *ṭhaÑ* is added to a stem connected with *adhyāya* only if it denotes a sage."

The word *eva* invariably has this function of marking the focus of a restriction in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[11]

This use of *eva* is not really necessary in Pāṇini's system, because word order by itself can serve the same purpose. Pāṇini elsewhere omits *eva* and then always puts the focus of the restriction *last* in the rule. For example, following on the rule which deletes the last member of word-final consonant clusters (8.2.23 *saṁyogāntasya lopaḥ*) comes the restriction 24 *rāt sasya* "after *r*, only *s* is deleted." Reversing the word order to **sasya rāt* we would instead have the restriction "*s* is deleted only after *r*".[12] All cases of *eva* could have been eliminated with suitable adjustments of word order where necessary.

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[10] The tradition attributes to *api* the meaning of optionality in 8.1.35.

[11] The other examples are 1.2.65 *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ*, 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām*, 3.1.88 *tapaḥ tapaḥkarmakasyaiva*, 3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*, 5.3.58 *ajādī guṇavacanād eva*, 6.1.80 *dhātos tannimittasyaiva*, 6.2.80 *upamānaṁ śabdārthaprakṛtāv eva*, 6.2.148 *kārakād dattaśrutayor evāśiṣi*, 6.4.145 *ahnaṣ ṭakhor eva*, 8.3 61 *stautiṇyor eva ṣaṇy abhyāsāt*.

[12] Word order also decides the scope of words like *anyataḥ*, cf. 4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt topadhāt to naḥ* [14 *anupasarjanāt*] [5 *ṅīp*] [4 *ataḥ*] [3 *striyām*] "to a stem denoting a colour, ending in unaccented *a* preceded by *t*, which is not the *upsarjana* (subordinate member) of a compound, the suffix *ṄīP* is added in the feminine gender, and *t* becomes *n*"; 4.1.40 *anyato ṅīṣ* "elsewhere, *ṄīṢ*". "Elsewhere" refers to a stem denoting a colour (*varṇād*) which ends in an unaccented (*a*–) vowel (*anudāttāt*) *not* preceded by *t* – not, for example, to a stem ending in an unaccented (*a*–) vowel preceded by *t* which does *not* denote a colour. That is, *anyataḥ* relates to the last, focussed element in the string of conditions.

To sum up our findings on the particles *ca, api,* and *eva* :

(1) Ca *always means " and ". By virtue of this meaning it indicates under certain circumstances that a process is an optional alternative to another process.*

(2) *Where* ca *and a word for " optionally " would have produced the same effect, Pāṇini always used* ca.

(3) *Apparent exceptions to (2) are due to the exigencies of* anuvṛtti *or to the avoidance of* ca *when stating a process or condition which is diametrically opposed to one stated earlier.*

(4) Api *and* eva *have no logical function in the system, and they are only used for clarity. In principle,* api *could always be replaced by* ca *and* eva *could always be deleted.*

Dvandva compounds are to be understood as equivalent to co-ordinated phrases with *ca,* in accordance with 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ* " nominally inflected forms can be compounded into compounds designated as *dvandva* to express the meaning ' and '. " When a *dvandva* compound is the process part of the rule, it therefore expresses that two processes take place in the same environment. This is only done when the two processes are incompatible (in the technical sense) to express that they are alternatives, i. e. to state an option. E.g. 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau,* 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau,* 4.1.140, 4.3.64 (p. 197).

Throughout the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, a co-ordinated phrase " A, B *ca* ", where A and B are two incompatible items, has been replaced by a *dvandva* compound " AB " wherever possible. The most common use of *ca* is to co-ordinate an overtly stated item with one that is implicit by *anuvṛtti* from a preceding rule, as illustrated above. In such cases, no compounding is obviously possible. The presence of an overt co-ordinated phrase in a rule of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* always has some special significance : normally it is found when two *compatible* processes must both apply at the same time, e. g. 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca* (Ch. 3), 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca,* 4.4.108 *samānodare śayita o codattaḥ.*

There remain a number of devices of relatively little importance, which I will mention here for completeness' sake. To make clear how an option is to hold between two processes Pāṇini sometimes uses *ubhayathā* ' both ways ' (3.4.17, 6.4.5, 8.2.70, 8.3.8), referring to the two preceding processes, and *paryāyeṇa* ' in turn ' (7.3.31), meaning that either one but not both of two compatible processes are to take place. *Ubhayathā* occurs only in Vedic rules, so that it could be viewed as filling the gap left by the non-use of *anyatarasyām* in Vedic rules (p. 196)

Mention of other linguists in rules (e. g. 8.3.18–20 *vyor laghuprayatnataraḥ śākaṭāyanasya, lopaḥ śākalyasya, oto gārgyasya*) is also supposed to mean, according to the tradition, that the rules are optional. In reality the citations are meant quite literally, viz. "according to Śākaṭāyana", "according to Śākalya, " and so forth.[13] Their reinterpretation as markers of optionality was attributed to the "*Mīmāṁsaka*-axiom of the eternal nature of the words" (Thieme 1937, 336). After Pāṇini, spoken Sanskrit must have continued to evolve, gradually becoming more and more different from the variety described in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[14] As this happened, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* could less and less be considered an empirically based description of a natural form of speech, and became exclusively a prescriptive grammar laying down a fixed norm of correct usage. From that later point of view, what else was one to do with disagreements between authoritative scholars on the facts of usage than to take them as alternative norms?

The term *bahulam* 'diversely, under various conditions' differs from the other expressions for optionality in its indeterminacy. The tradition has seen the special character of *bahulam* clearly. It is most commonly applied to word-formation rules, especially Vedic ones, to indicate that they are subject to further restrictions of various kinds. In a few cases it means that the rule applies sporadically even when the conditions stated in the rule are not met. For example, following on 7.1.9 *ato bhisa ais* "after stems in short *a*, *bhis* (instr. sg.) becomes *ais*", 7.1.10 *bahulaṁ chandasi* "diversely in Vedic" means both that *ais* sometimes fails to show up after stems in short *a*, and that it also sometimes shows up after other kinds of stems. A similar case is 6.4.75 *bahulaṁ chandasy amāṅyoge 'pi* (see p. 204).[15] The difference between *bahulam* and the other terms comes out clearly when they are attached to the same processs, cf. 6.1.177–178, and 2.1.57–58 (See Ch. 2, item 14f.).

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[13] The traditional view that the citations merely indicate optionality has few defenders today. There is nothing that argues for such a circuitous interpretation, and there are several difficulties connected with it which indicate that it is best abandoned. In a rule like 8.4.67 *nodattasvaritodayam agārgyakāśyapagālavānām*, where a certain prohibition is said to hold "except according to Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava" it would on that interpretation have been enough to mention just *one* linguist (similarly in 7.3.99 *ad gārgyagālavayoḥ*). And if one were to claim that the others are mentioned *pūjārtham* 'to show respect', the negative prefix *a* would still be redundant. (In any case, it's hard to see how one could show respect to a colleague or predecessor by attributing to him opinions which he never held.) Similarly, 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* could have been expressed more simply as *supy āpiśaleḥ*, and 8.3.20 *oto gārgyasya* would be entirely redundant, since it is a special case of the more general process of deletion which is already "optional" by the preceding rule 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*.

Apparently Pāṇini's attribution of a rule to other grammarians does not mean that he himself necessarily agrees or disagrees with the rule as formulated, merely that there exist other opinions. This can be concluded from the fact that the rules include both preferred and rather marginal processes. For example, 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*, e.g. (*kas āste* → *karU āste* ⥱) *kay āste* → *ka āste*, is a deletion process which is practically always applied, and 6.1.123 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* is applied by Pāṇini himself in 2.4.11 *gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca*. On the other hand, 6.1.127 *iko 'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* (e.g. *dadhi atra* instead of *dadhy atra*) is usually not applied in Sanskrit literature.

[14] Patañjali's well-known description of the *śiṣṭas* of Āryāvarta does not contradict the view of Sanskrit as a language confined to relatively formal styles of speech.

The term *vibhāṣita* occurs three times in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The most salient difference between *vibhāṣita* and the other terms is syntactic : Whereas *vibhāṣā, vā* etc. are adverbial qualifiers of the process, to be translated as " (applies) optionally (marginally, etc.) ", *vibhāṣita* is itself a focus item, " (is) optional ". This has at least one interesting consequence which distinguishes *vibhāṣita* in function. We have seen that *vā* and *vibhāṣā* must be understood as taking a negation in their scope when it is present by *anuvṛtti*.[16] With *vibhāṣita* it should not be so, if my interpretation is right. The expression occurs twice in a negative context, and in one of them the data allow the prediction to be tested, with positive results.

This rule is 8.1.74 *sāmānyavacanaṁ vibhāṣitaṁ viśeṣavacane* [73 *āmantrite samānādhikaraṇe*] [72 *āmantritaṁ pūrvam avidyamānavat*] " a preceding vocative head or general term *(sāmānyavacana)* is optional *(vibhāṣita)* in being disregarded for purposes of accenting a following co-referential vocative modifier or special term *(viśeṣavacana).*" This requires some explaining. Rule 8.1.72 *āmantritaṁ pūrvam avidyamānavat* says that a preceding vocative is disregarded for purposes of accentuation. The effect of disregarding it is that words which come in *second* place in a sentence with a vocative taking first place become subject to various special accentuations that normally apply to items in *initial* position in a sentence. In particular, when two successive vocatives come at the beginning of a sentence, both are accented. This happens because rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca* [17 *padāt*] [18 *anudāttaṁ sarvam apādādau*] " a vocative is unaccented after a *pada*, except at the beginning of a line " will fail to deaccent not only the first, but by the convention of 8.1.72 that the first is to be disregarded, also the second, e. g. *pítar mā́taḥ* ' O father ! O mother ! (Whitney, p. 316). To this convention, 8.1.73 introduces an exception : *nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe* ' not (when applying a rule) to a co-referential vocative '. That is, the first vocative is *not* disregarded if the second is co-referential with it, so that the general rule 8.1.19 must then treat the second as non-initial and therefore deaccent it, e. g. *índra bhrātaḥ* ' O brother Indra ', *yáviṣṭha dūta* ' most youthful messenger ' (ibid.). This exception in turn is qualified in the rule at hand : When the first vocative is the head, it is optional. That is, we have either *índra śáviṣṭha sátpate* ' O Indra, best protector ' (*RV.* 3.68.1), with the first two vocatives disregarded, or *índra saviṣṭha satpate* (*RV.* 8.13.12) with no vocatives disregarded, and the second and third therefore deaccented as sentence-internal by 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca.*

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[15] Böhtlingk's translation and notes on the rule overlook this point following the *Kāśikā*.

[16] *Na*..*vā* e.g. in 1.2.23, 1.3.90, 1.4.5–6, 6.1.106, 6.2.24, 7.2.27, 7.2.30, 7.2.41, *na*..*vibhāṣā* e.g. in 1.1.32ff., 2.4.16, 5.4.72, 6.1.122, 6.4.32, 7.1 79, 7.2.17, 8.1.26, 8.1.41, 8.1.45, 8.1.50, 8.1.53. See the discussion of the constituent structure of rules in the Note of Ch. 4. My suggestion is that *vibhāṣita* is a Head while *vibhāṣā* is a Modifier, in terms of that constituent structure.

If *vibhāṣita* is like *vibhāṣā* in denoting marginal optionality, but unlike *vibhāṣā* qualifies a process item directly, then *vibhāṣitam* in 8.1.74 must qualify *sāmānyavacanam* directly and not via *na* as *vibhāṣā* would. Then this rule must mean that a head is marginally disregarded, that is, that a vocative modifier is usually deaccented after a sentence initial vocative head. This fits at least the *Ṛgvedic* and *Atharvavedic* data which can be extracted from the list of initial sequences of co-referential vocatives given in Haskell (1885, 61–63), by eliminating the cases of modifiers preceding their heads, where Pāṇini's rules, more or less correctly, require accentuation of both, e.g. *viśve devā́(sa)ḥ* 'O all gods!' Of the remainder, the singly accented cases (e.g. *índra saviṣṭha satpate, śakhe vaso* (*RV*. 1.30.10) 'good friend!', *déva tvaṣṭaḥ* (*RV*. 3.4.9, 7.2.9, 10.70.9) 'god Tvaṣṭṛ', *ágne bhrātaḥ* (*RV*. 1.161.1, 6.51.5) 'brother Agni', *índrāgnī vṛtrahaṇā suvajrā* (*RV*. 7.93.4) 'Indra and Agni, killers of *vṛtra*, well armed') outnumber the multiply accented type by a goodly margin (e.g. *índra sáviṣṭha sátpate, áśvinā púrudaṁśasā* (*RV*. 1.3.2) 'O Aśvins, doers of many deeds', *hótar várenyakrato* (*RV*. 8.43.12) 'O priest, possessing glorious power'.[17]

This provides some small support for my conjecture that the adjectival form *vibhāṣita* serves to avoid continuing *na* from the preceding rules. It is admittedly risky to base much on early Vedic facts in checking a rule which Pāṇini formulated for all of Sanskrit. Another case of *vibhāṣita* in a negative context is 8.1.53 *vibhāṣitaṁ sopasargam anuttamam*, a considerably more limited rule which I unfortunately cannot find a good way of checking. The word occurs a third time in 7.3.25 *jaṅgaladhenubalajāntasya vibhāṣitam uttaram*. Here *vṛddhi* is prescribed in certain compounds for the first vowel of both members (19 *pūrvapadasya*, 10 *uttarapadasya*), and *vibhāṣita* qualifies the *vṛddhi* of the second member as optional. The adjectival character of *vibhāṣita* is convenient here to enable the option to be unambiguously restricted to just one of the two processes effected by the rule, and for its discontinuation in the next rule.

All these minor terms (*ubhayathā, paryāyeṇa, bahulam, vibhāṣita*) have in common that they are rarely continued by *anuvṛtti*, another indication of their peripheral role in the system.[18]

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[17] The later tradition adds *bahuvacanam* to 8.1.74, thus limiting it to the plural. But this is a later addition taken from Patañjali (see Böhtlingk's edition).

[18] One case where *bahulam* is continued is 6.4.76 *irayo re*, which must be read with both *bahulam* and *chandasi* from the preceding rule *bahulaṁ chandasy amāṅyoge 'pi* – an anomalous case.

CHAPTER VI

THE *SAṀJÑĀ* SYSTEM

As a system with a history, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has to be investigated both from a structural point of view and from a historical point of view if its features are to be fully understood. Which features will yield to which approach? This cannot be determined a priori, but only by actually trying uncover historical as well as structural motivation in all areas of the grammar.

In no area have these two competing methods of explanation been more sharply opposed than in the technical terminology and the *saṁjñā* rules. These is no question that Pāṇini adopted some traditional terms and that he on the other hand shaped a coherent system of terminology which is fully integrated with the derivational rules. But two completely different sorts of answers are conceivable to questions of the following sort : Why are certain grammatical notions denoted by "real" words of Sanskrit (e.g. *ārdhadhātuka, pada*) and others by artificially created terms (e.g. *ghu, bha*)? Why are some terms defined in the grammar and others not? In such cases one might either look for some structural rationale, or argue that the distinction merely depends on whether the terms or their meanings are "pre-Pāṇinian" or introduced by Pāṇini himself.

It is clear right away that this issue is very relevant to the arguments based on 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* which I sketched out briefly in Ch. I. For a skeptic might react to that argument by casting doubt on the systematicity of Pāṇini's *saṁjñā* rules. How can you claim — so he might object — that the fact that Pāṇini gave a definition of *vibhāṣā*, and the particular way in which he formulated that definition, offer support for your interpretation of the words indicating optionality, when you might equally well suppose that the definition was adopted from previous grammars, and that Pāṇini's use of several different words for "optionally" reflect the diversity which he found in his sources? The best way to counter that challenge is to demonstrate that the *saṁjñā* rules are fully as systematic as the *vidhi* rules, and that they have been introduced for precise structural reasons, not copied arbitrarily from earlier grammatical works. Most of this chapter is devoted to an analysis of *saṁjñā* rules which I think, establishes a case in favour of this "structural" view. I will then restate the arguments for my main hypothesis based on 1.1.44 in a more complete, and I hope more convincing, form than was possible in Ch. 1.

I am far from wanting to claim, of course, that everything about Pāṇini's *saṁjñā*s is structurally motivated. Historical factors must obviously be at work where the system imposes no formal requirements of its own. Thus, the formation of the natural language terms is completely arbitrary as far as the system is concerned. It would make no difference whatever for the operation of the grammar if, for example, all occurrences of *sārvadhātuka* were replaced by *aṅga* and simultaneously all occurrences of *aṅga* were replaced by *sārvadhātuka*. The etymological value of *sārvadhātuka*, and its parallelism with *ārdhadhātuka*, is never formally exploited in the system. Of course, many such terms have a meaning of their own outside of grammar — either in the technical terminology of some other field, such as phonetics or metrics, e. g. *anunāsika* ' nasal ', *savarṇa* ' homogeneous ', *laghu* ' (prosodically) light ', *guru* ' (prosodically) heavy ' — or simply in ordinary language, e.g. *samāsa* ' combination ', technically ' compound ', *āmantrita* ' called ', technically ' the first set of case endings (nominative) when used in calling, i. e. the vocative endings '. The extra-grammatical meaning which such terms may have can be closely related to their technical meaning, as in these examples ; in many others it is quite remote. Cf. *gati* ' going ', technically ' preverb ', or *tatpuruṣa* ' his servant ', technically ' compound formed by rules 2.1.22–2.2.22 ' (roughly, ' determinative compound '), which merely happens to be an example of the type of formation it denotes. In any case, such outside meanings have at most a mnemonic value and are strictly irrelevant within the theory.[1] For purposes of applying the rules of the grammar, only the technical meaning assigned by the grammar counts On the other hand, structural considerations have played a role, albeit a marginal one, in the constitution of artificial technical terms. For example : the similarity in the names of the null elements *luk*, *lup*, *ślu* enables them to be referred to collectively in 1.1.63 *na lumantāṅgasya*; the choice of *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* as diacritics on suffixes in certain functions has enabled them to be combined as *ugit*,[2] in a general way, the avoidance of aspirates as diacritics (except for *gh*, *kh* in *kṛt* suffixes) freed them for use as abstract underlying forms *(pha, ḍha, kha, cha, gha,*[3] *ṭha,*[4] *jha*[5]*)* and as cover terms like *ghi*, *ghu*, *gha*, *bha*. More importantly, the *pratyāhāras* constitute an extended, productive system in the metalanguage which allows the creation of terms according to the requirements of the grammar by means of certain fixed rules.

In investigating Pāṇini's, usage in the light of his own optional rules (Ch. 2) we were therefore justified in excluding from consideration the technical terminology of grammar. For in so far as it is composed of " real " Sanskrit words (and the artificial invented syllables are of no use to us in this regard anyway) it is, by what we have just said, completely arbitrary in form as far as grammatical system is concerned, and thereby liable to retain traditional terms unchanged. These might have been coined according to older patterns of word-formation. In fact, the terms in some cases violate even Pāṇini's *obligatory* rules, so that there is no reason to expect that the preferences among *optional* variants indicated in Pāṇini's rules will hold in this older stratum of the grammatical vocabulary.

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[1] This is against the opinion of Patañjali, who often seeks a special significance in " long " terms. See Scharfe (1971) for an analysis of Pāṇini's technical terms.

[2] 7.1.70 *ugidacāṁ sarvanāmasthāne 'dhātoḥ*, 4.1.6 and 6.3.45 *ugitaś ca*.

[3] 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṁ pratyayādīnām*.

[4] 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

[5] 7.1.3 *jho 'ntaḥ*.

I take this occasion to fill in the gap left in Ch. 2. I will simply tabulate such terms as involve in optional rule in their formation and see how often they match the Pāṇinian preferences A few traditional grammatical terms not occurring in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but common in the *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Mahābhāṣya* are also included.

(*a*) Grammatical terms conforming to Pāṇinian preferences:

(1) *bhaviṣyantī* 'future', preferable to *bhaviṣyatī* by 7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num* (p. 10).

(2) *carkarīta* 'intensive', preferable to *corkarta* by 7.3.94 *yaṅo vā*[6] (p. 71).

(3) *bahuvrīhi*, preferable to *bahuvrīhika* by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* (p. 23).

(4) *niyama* 'restriction', preferable to *niyāma* by 3.3.63 *yamaḥ samupaniviṣu ca* (p. 109).

(5) *avyayībhāva*, preferably to *avyayasādbhāva* by 5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye* (p. 23).

(6) *sarvanāmasthāna*, preferably to *sarvanāmasthānīya* by 5.4.10 *sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti* (p. 22).

(7) *sakarmaka* 'transitive', preferable to *sahakarmaka* by 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya* (p. 25).

(8) *karmapravacanīya*, preferably used agentively by 3.4.68 *bhavyageyapravacanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyāpatyā vā* (p. 21).

(9) *vidhi* 'rule', preferable to *vidhāna* or *vidhāya* by 3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ* (with 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*) (p. 33). It is interesting in this connection that pre-Pāṇinian works do not use *vidhi*, but *vidhāna* instead (Bhate 1970, 171; Renou 1942, 279, 494).

(10) *pragṛhya*, preferable to *pragrahītavya*, *pragrahaṇīya* by 3.1.119 *padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu ca* (p. 22).

(11) *antaḥsthā* 'glide', preferable to *antaḥsthāyikā* by 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ* (with 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*) (p. 31).

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[6] More correctly, I should say that 3 sg. int. *carkarīti*, from which *carkarīta* is abstracted, is preferable to *carkarti*. The form *carkarta* is not in use at all as a designation for the intensive or otherwise.

(*b*) Grammatical terms not conforming to Pāṇinian preferences :

(1) *visarjanīya*, instead of *visṛjya*, which is preferable by 3.1.110 *ṛdupadhāc cākḷpicṛteḥ* (with 3.1.94 *vā'sarūpo 'striyām*).

(2) *kṛtya*, instead of *kārya* which is preferable by 3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ* (p. 20).

(3) *saṁpradāna*, *apādāna*, instead of *saṁpradi*, *apādi*. (Cf. the note on item 9 above). Why did Pāṇini leave *saṁpradāna* and *apādāna* unchanged but modernized the older term *vidhāna* to *vidhi*? Perhaps because in general, also, words in *-dhi* are more common than words in *-di*. This may, then, be another instance of "rounding off".

(4) *sakarmaka*, *akarmaka* etc., where the forms without *-ka* would have been preferable according to 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. But the presence of *-ka* might be motivated within Pāṇini's terminology itself, cf. the discussion on p. 24.

Even from this limited data it would seem that Pāṇini's terminology does not conform as closely to the preferences expressed in his optional rules as the rest of his language. This is scarcely surprising, because we know much of it to be traditional.

Turning now from the form of the technical terms to their content, and to the *saṁjñā* rules which specify this content, we move to a domain in which tradition gives way completely to the requirements of the grammatical system. In the following pages I present an analysis of this domain designed to establish its systematic character.

Our main attention will be directed to a distinction between two sorts of terms, which is familiar from other formal systems, and was also drawn in much the same way by the Sanskrit grammatical tradition: *theoretical* terms and *primitive* terms. I will define them entirely with respect to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a self-contained grammatical system.

(1) *Theoretical terms* are expressions whose meaning in the grammar is defined explicitly by the grammar itself. They include both terms like *laṭ* 'present tense', *sup* 'case suffix' *bha* 'a nominal stem before certain suffixes', which have been coined in grammar and have no meaning independent from that given to them by the rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and terms like *hrasva*, *savarṇa*, *gati*, *tatpuruṣa*, which have a meaning outside of grammar.

In the simplest cases, the meaning of the theoretical terms is defined by a single *saṁjñā* rule, e.g. 1.4.110 *virāmo 'vasānam* "a pause is *avasāna*", 3.2.127 *tau sat* "they (viz. the suffixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*) are *sat*." More often, a number of *saṁjñā* rules are required; e. g. for *pada* 1.4.14–17 and *bha* 1.4.18–20, where the rules for *bha* are moreover restrictions on the rules for *pada*, so that the whole set forms an indissoluble unitary group. Many terms are defined by enumeration, e.g. 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ* " the output of each rule upto *kāḍāra* (rule 2.2.38) is *samāsa* 'compound' ". Very commonly, the rules defining the theoretical terms themselves involve other theoretical terms; for example, in 1.1.2 *ad eṅ guṇaḥ* " short *a* and *e, o* are *guṇa* ", the expressions *aT* ' short *a* ' and *eṄ* ' *e* and *o* ' are theoretical terms which get their meaning assigned by other rules in the system.

In the tradition, all such defined terms are known as *śāstrīya* (' technical, theoretical ') terms. About two hundred of them are introduced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

2) *Primitive terms* are terms whose meaning is not explicitly defined by the rules of the grammar, but are taken as the basic elements out of which the system of grammar is constructed. They constitute the axiomatic vocabulary of the theory, to which all theoretically analyzed, *śāstrīya* terms are directly or indirectly reducible via the network of rules.

What are the primitive terms of Pāṇini's grammar?

Many of them are theoretical terms of another field, which are adopted by grammar presumably in the precise meaning which they have there. In this regard, it is clear that Pāṇini's grammar leans on phonetics and the study of Vedic ritual. It employs a number of theoretical terms of phonetics which are found already in the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* and / or the *Nirukta*, archaic works which are definitely pre-Pāṇinian in content and approach, though they may not antedate Pāṇini in real time as well. Such terms are, for example, *anusvāra* ' nasal offglide ', *prayatna* ' manner of articulation ', *varṇa* ' segment type '. The elaborate elassification of Vedic literature into genres like *chandas, mantra, ṛk, yajus* etc. is evidently based on a system which must have been worked out by the ritualists. There is, of course, some overlap between phonetics and ritual, for Vedic recitation is a subject with which both are concerned, and terms like *ekaśruti* appear in both the *Prātiśākhyas* and the *Śrautasūtras* (see the discussion of 1.2.35–36, p. 59).

There are many primitive terms of grammar which cannot be shown to have a basis in any other science of Pāṇini's time. Though some of them may have been treated in works which are now lost, it is reasonable to suppose that Pāṇini adopted ordinary words of the Sanskrit language in various, more or less specialized, conventional senses.

Has the separation of theoretical terms from primitive terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* been based on any general criterion? Since Goldstücker (1861), a fairly popular proposal for such a criterion has been that *Pāṇini analyzed the terms which were of his own devising and left the terms of his prede-*

cessors unanalyzed. There are, however, many counter-examples to this idea, in both directions : Bhate (1970), though sympathetic to it, lists 49 terms which Pāṇini analyzes and which are yet found in pre-Pāṇinian works, and 64 terms which Pāṇini does not analyze and which are yet not found in pre-Pāṇinian works. To be sure, the former terms may be used by Pāṇini in a different or more precise sense than by his predecessors, and a number of the latter terms may have occurred in works now lost. But granting this, the discrepancies are still quite extensive. Moreover, since the lost works include all the pre-Pāṇinian literature dealing with grammar proper, the field whose terminology Pāṇini mainly employs, their discovery would undoubtedly yield a greater number of pre-Pāṇinian terms analyzed by Pāṇini than not analyzed by him, and so further weaken Goldstücker's hypothesis rather than strengthen it.

Quite apart from its poor correlation with the facts, Goldstücker's hypothesis is not very plausible to begin with. It might make sense if we view the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a purely practical grammar, designed for pedagogical convenience and therefore omitting what was likely to be already known to a student of Sanskrit in Pāṇini's time. However, let us be concrete and ask who this intended learner is for whom the grammar is composed. Is he a beginner ? If so, then how is he supposed to come equipped with a know ledge of all the technical terms used by Pāṇini's predecessors ? Is he a more advanced student, who has already mastered the works of these predecessors ? If so, then why does he still require instruction from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* on the meaning of terms like *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, *udātta*, *anudātta*, not to mention the most elementary facts of Sanskrit grammar such as that one says *āgacchati* and not **gacchaty ā*,[7] or that the plural denotes plurality.[8]

But surely it is plain that the form of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not primarily determined (I would say, not at all determined) by the practical needs of a learner of Sanskrit. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is, rather, a theoretical inquiry into the grammar of Sanskrit and into language in general (since the theory concerns only one language, the distinction between universal and language-particular aspects of linguistic structure which is so important in modern linguistics, plays no role here, and to foist it on Pāṇini would be quite anachronistic). And so, to argue that *saṁjñā* rules could be omitted for terms familiar from earlier works amounts to claiming that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not a self-contained grammar but a kind of supplement to these earlier works. But that is even more absurd. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* obviously is not composed in such a way as to require the reader to consult its predecessors. We do not find, for example, that any of the *vidhi* rules are missing in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, even though many of them are sure to have been given by earlier linguists, in particular those linguists whom Pāṇini himself quotes. Then why should the situation be different for *saṁjñā* rules ?

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[7] 1.4.80 *te prāg dhātoḥ.*

[8] 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam.*

Actually, even to raise the question about the *saṁjñā* rules in this form betrays a misconception of their nature. They are not something peripheral which could be added or removed from the grammar for external, essentially practical and historical reasons. In a formal theory of an empirical subject matter, the purpose of defining or analyzing a term is not merely to *gloss* it for practical purposes by some expression assumed to be more familiar to the reader, as a dictionary would explain the meaning of a word. The purpose is rather to provide a theoretical understanding of the concept to which the term refers. Cardona (1969, 35a) rightly speaks of " the unification of grammatical procedure and terminology in a framework of generalization ". The *saṁjñā* rules are part of the system of grammar, which is intended to provide a theoretical understanding of linguistic structure. In a real sense, each technical term acquires its full explication only through the whole network of rules in the system of which it is a part. In short, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a theory of the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit language, and the *saṁjñā* rules are not some sort of clarification of the terminology used in that theory, but an essential part of the theory itself.

With this in mind, we can begin to see the criterion separating the theoretical terms from the primitive terms.

The treatment presented in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is based on very definite views about what is supposed to be the *domain* of such a theory. Certain phenomena are understood as having to be explicated (i. e. as being *śiṣya*) by means of grammatical theory *(śāstra)*, while others fall outside of that enterprise, as conceived by Pāṇini. Moreover, we know that not all linguists agreed with the way Pāṇini delimited the field. There are five remarkable rules in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (1.2.53–57) which give us some insight into the early controversy on this matter. The rules are unique and anomalous in that they play no role in the system of derivations; they in fact constitute theses delimiting what belongs in grammar from what does not belong in grammar. Since they are moreover nowhere mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, there is some plausibility to Böhtlingk's suggestion that they are interpolations by another linguist. The first of them may be cited here : 1.2.53 *tad aśiṣyaṁ saṁjñāpramāṇatvāt* " this (viz. gender and number[9]) need not be taught, because it depends on arbitrary convention ". If we take the rule literally, it says that no rules for gender and number are required in the grammar. If we had instead " this need not be taught, *in so far as* it depends on arbitrary convention ", we would have Pāṇini's own position as reflected in his actual treatment of gender and number in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. What Pāṇini does is precisely to account for gender and number in so far as they are predictable, as in rules like 1.2.51 (fn. 9), 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, 2.4.17 *sa napuṁsakam*, etc. Where they are arbitrary properties of particular stems or suffixes, they are left out of the grammar. Thus, the gender of nouns is not specified, except in derived words when it follows from general rules.[10] The same is true of derivational suffixes. Thus, the suffix *tā*, which is always feminine, is cited by Pāṇini in its underlying, short-vowel form *taL*.[11] In the case of number, the predictability is greater, but the same principle is adhered to in that the semantically unmotivated fixed plural of *pluralia tantum* like *dārāḥ* 'wife', *āpaḥ* 'water', *prāṇāḥ* 'life' is nowhere accounted for. All this is consistent with Pāṇini's general treatment of words used in conventional, idiomatic meanings. In rules referring to such words (*saṁjñāyām*) the actual conventional meanings are not given, and the condition *saṁjñāyām* itself depends on knowing from outside of grammar what these meanings are.

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[9] I follow Böhtlingk's translation here; others take *tat* to refer to the particular gender and number rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* " the gender and number of words with *lup* (a null suffix) is as that of the base ".

Pāṇini's consistency in such matters, and the glimpses of early theorizing about them which we get from rules 1.2.53–7, make it plausible that some definite range of phenomena was after deliberate reflection marked off as the province of grammar. To use the term of 1.2.53, this is what is *śisya*, 'the subject matter of theory' (literally 'what is to be taught'), as far as the grammar is concerned. Broadly speaking, facts of phonetics and semantics, and arbitrary lexical facts are excluded from the grammar as being *aśiṣya* in that science — though they might of course be *śiṣya* in other sciences, such as phonetics, philosophy, and etymology,[12] respectively.

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[10] An apparent exception is rule 2.4.31 *ardharcāḥ puṁsi ca* "*ardharca* 'a half-line' etc. can also be masculine." It is the last in a sequence of rules (2.4.17 ff.) assigning gender to compounds. The general rule, given in 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṁ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*, is that the gender of *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds is the same as that of their last member. Rules 27-30 then enumerate various special cases of *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the general rule does not hold. In 2.4.31, *ardharca* is also such a *tatpuruṣa* compound, formed by 2.2.2 *ardhaṁ napuṁsakam* [1 *ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe*] "the neuter *ardha* 'half' [is compounded with a (word denoting a) divisible thing to express a part of it]" (*tatpuruṣa* by 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*). However, the traditional *gaṇa* 'list' which fills in the "etc." implicit in the plural of the rule itself contains, among a few other compounds, also a huge number of simple words, such as *gomaya* 'cowdung', *kaṣāya* 'astringent'.

"But, as this *gaṇa* occurs in the context of the gender of compounds, other grammarians read only a few compounds in this list." (Kapila Deva Shastri, 1969, 291). Candragomin explicitly rejected the inclusion of some non-compounds in the section on the gender of compounds, on the grounds that their gender is determined by the practical use of language or by the *Liṅgānuśāsana*, and that it would be inconsistent to single out words which occur in the neuter and masculine genders for this special treatment, when other gender options, like masculine/feminine, feminine/neuter, or all three genders, or for that matter single gender or no gender, have all been left out of the grammar (ibid.). Moreover, the rule is anomalous in the case of simple words because the alternative to the masculine option allowed for them by this rule is nowhere given in the grammar, whereas for compounds that alternative is explicitly stated to be the gender of their last member, by the general rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṁ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. We may suspect that the simple words in the *gaṇa* have been put in after Pāṇini; it must have happened before Patañjali since he quotes some of them. Then *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* is continued from 2.4.26 down to the end of the series of rules. We have seen above in Ch. 4 that many other *gaṇas* look like later compilations, and often break the constraints of the original system.

[11] 4.2.43 *grāmajanabandhubhyas tal*, 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*, 5.4.27 *devāttal*.

The criterion that determines which terms have been chosen as theoretical terms, and which as primitives in the system, can then be formulated in a general way as follows : *terms for grammatical notions are theoretical, terms for extra-grammatical notions are primitive.* In short : *śiṣya* concepts, and only they, are denoted by *śāstrīya* terms.

If the distinction between the *śiṣya* and *aśiṣya* domains were made merely by seeing which terms are analyzed and which are primitive, my criterion would be true by definition and therefore empty as an explanation of where the latter division runs. My argument for the criterion is that it draws a consistent and reasonable line between *śiṣya* and *aśiṣya* which coincides in interesting ways with the corresponding lines that have been drawn independently in other grammatical traditions. For these reasons it is one which could plausibly be ascribed to Pāṇini. And I know of no other interpretation which makes Pāṇini's practice consistent and sensible at the same time.

In order to check the consequences of this criterion, we must apply it to the terminology in detail. That is best done by grouping the terms into certain subclasses according to what they refer to, and examining where the line goes between theoretical and primitive terms in these subclasses separately. If the criterion is correct, it should predict the results in each.

(1) *Semantic terms.*

Here the situation is very simple : *no* semantic terms are analyzed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Semantics in its entirety is taken as a primitive for purposes of the theory of grammar. It is not seen as the business of grammar to explicate meaning in any way. Perhaps Pāṇini thought it to be a task for philosophy. Whether or not he did, and whether or not philosophers of Pāṇini's time were engaged in this task, does not matter for our purposes. We do know, however, that a number of the terms occur in the etymological theorizing of the *Nirukta*. This does not mean that they had been given a theoretical analysis, even partial one, but it indicates that Pāṇini did not merely invent terms *ad hoc* but used conventional ones wherever available.

(2) *Terms pertaining to ritual and Vedic Studies.*

None of the terms in this category are defined either. Here belong the designations of the various types of Vedic texts : *chandas*, *yajus*, *ṛc*, *brāhmaṇa*, *nigama*, *mantra*, *sāman*, *sūtra*, and finally *bhāṣā* ' ordinary speech ' (as distinct from Vedic). Cf. Ch. 3, p. 56 above. Further technical terms in this category are *pāda* ' verse ' (with *antaḥpāda* ' interior of a verse '), *avagraha*

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[12] Various auxiliary systems, such as the *Liṅgānuśāsana*, the *Uṇādi sūtras* (which I take to be post-Pāṇinian at least in their present form) were added to enlarge the scope of grammar by those who felt its original boundaries to have been drawn too narrowly.

'division in the *Padapāṭha* text', *upasthita (= anārṣa iti)* '*iti* as a marker in the *Padapāṭha* text'. These are all quite elaborate concepts, and the terms are by no means self-explanatory. Yet Pāṇini has not provided any analysis of them, for this task does not fall within the province of grammar.

(3) *Terms denoting elementary spatial relations between objects.*

These terms are used in Pāṇini's metalanguage to characterize the relations between elements in the structural analysis of a rule which must hold if the rule is to apply : *ādi* 'beginning', *anta* 'end', *pūrva* 'preceding', *uttara, para, udaya* 'following', *upottama* 'penultimate', *vyavahita* 'separated by', *vyavāya* 'separation', *anantara* 'contiguous', *prathama* 'first', *dvitīya* 'second', *madhya* 'middle'. Quite rightly, none of these are regarded by Pāṇini as terms requiring analysis within grammar.

(4) *Terms referring to the form and application of grammatical rules.*

Such terms are used to formulate *paribhāṣās*, metarules governing the interaction of rules in derivations : *lakṣana, vidhi* 'rule', *sthāna* 'domain of applicability', *sthānin* 'substituendum', *prakṛti* 'basic form' (*prakṛtyā* 'in the basic form'), *upadeśa* '(system of) underlying forms', *ādeśa* 'substitute', 'output', *prāpti* 'applicability', *(a-) siddha* '(not) having applied, (in-) valid', *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict' (applicability of two rules each of which has an independent domain of applicability), *nirdiṣṭa* 'specified (in a rule)', *anudeśa* 'correspondence', *adhikāra* 'heading, governing rule', *śeṣa* 'the rest', *anabhihita*, 'not expressed', *akathita* 'not covered'. None of these terms are analyzed in the grammar. They are metagrammatical in the sense that they refer not to concepts about which grammatical analysis must theorize, but to the basic equipment which one brings to the very task of grammatical analysis. It should be noted that many of these terms are common property of the *sūtra* technique as applied not only in grammar but also in ritual and elsewhere (Renou 1941–42). In regard to these terms, we may compare the fact that in a formalization of the theory of generative grammar, entities like the arrow, slash, and dash will also have axiomatic status (Chomsky and Halle 1968, Chapter 8).

(5) *Phonological terms.*

It will be especially interesting to see how our proposed criterion works out in the realm of phonology. For Western linguistics, at least since Saussure, sees in phonology two sides : a physical phonetic side, having to do with the concrete sounds and their articulations; and an abstract linguistic side having to do with the distinctive function of phonological differences in the system of the language and with the classification of segments on the basis of their patterning in the system.

Something similar was also held by Pāṇini, for he divides the theoretical terms from the primitive terms in phonology in accordance with such a dual conception.

Pāṇini does not define purely phonetic categories which have no function in underlying representations (upadeśa). Pāṇini does define

(*a*) *categories which are established through grammatical analysis, and*

(*b*) *categories which have a distinctive function in underlying representations.*

Thus, terms for sounds and features which are exclusively derived by rules *(ādeśa)* are not defined : *anusvāra* ' nasal offglide ', *visarjanīya* ' *ḥ* ', *laghuprayatnatara* ' more weakly articulated ',[13] *xka* and *ϕpa* ' [x] ', ' [ϕ] '. Phonetically definable parameters like *āsya* ' mouth ', *prayatna* ' articulatory effort ' are also not defined by Pāṇini. Nor are the three cover terms for classes of phonetic categories *svara* ' accentuation ' (3x), *kāla* ' degree of length ' (2x, in the compounds *tatkāla* and *ūkāla*), and *varṇa* ' segment type ' (4x).

But in order to denote sounds and features which figure in underlying representations, and classes of sounds which must be formed for purposes of the grammatical rules, Pāṇini introduces an elaborate terminology which is carefully defined in the grammar. The main part of this terminology is given in the following three successive rules :

1.1.68 *svaṁ rūpaṁ śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā* " an expression denotes its own form, except for a linguistic term ".

1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* [68 *svaṁ rūpam*] " a vowel, *h*, glide and liquid, and (a consonant) with diacritic *U*, denotes also the sounds homogeneous with it (as well as its own form), except for a suffix ".

1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya* [69 *savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*] [68 *svaṁ rūpam*] " that which is followed by *t* denotes also the sounds of its own degree of length which are homogeneous with it (as well as its own form), except for a suffix ".

1.1.71 *ādir antyena sahetā* [68 *svaṁ rūpam*] " the first expression (of a list) with a diacritic denotes its own form and that of the expressions intervening (in the list, between it and the diacritic).

The first rule is trivial as far as the phonology is concerned. That an expression denotes its own form means in phonology quite simply that *t* denotes " t " and so on. Thus a segment type is designated by a token of itself. The *Śiva-sūtras* at the beginning of the grammar list all and only those segment types which figure in the underlying representations *(upadeśa)* of

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[13] 8.3.18 *vyor laghuprayatnataraḥ śākaṭāyanasya* [17 *bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya, aśi*] [8.2.108 *saṁhitāyām*] [8.1.16 *padasya*] " after *bho, bhago, agho*, and an *a*, *v* and *y* are more weakly articulated word-finally, before a voiced sound, according to Śākaṭāyana" .

the Pāṇinian system, abstracting away from the suprasegmental properties of accent, length, and nasality in vowels. A majority of these segment types, moreover, appear in the *upadeśa* both as purely phonological elements and as diacritic elements. But *ḷ* appears only as a diacritic element, and a number of others conversely appear only as phonological elements (cf. Scharfe 1971, 30–32).

The simple principle that sounds are designated by tokens of themselves is overridden for certain cases by the next rules. 1.1.69 provides a set of terms for each class of homogeneous consonants (where *savarṇa* ' homogeneous ' is used in a specially defined sense peculiar to grammar, see below). This is done by adding the diacritic *U* to a member of each series (in practice, the first member). This *cU* denotes the palatals i.e. *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ* (but, by virtue of the special definition of *savarṇa*, not *ś*, *i*, though they are phonetically also palatals). The same rule also states a convention which supersedes some of the content of the preceding rule. By this convention, a vowel, *h*, a glide, and a liquid denotes all vowels, liquids, and glides homogeneous with it, so that *i* refers to short, long and overlong *i* with or without nasalization, and with any one of the three accents.

In order to pick out a vowel type with a given length, the diacritic *T* is added to a token of that vowel type, according to the next rule 1.1.70, e. g. *aT* ' short *a* (with any accent and with or without nasality) '. In order to single out a vowel with a given accentuation, and to single out a nasalized or non-nasalized vowel, it is necessary to mention the property in question specifically.[14]

Rule 1.1.71 defines all *pratyāhāra* terms. The segment types are enumerated in the *Śivasūtras* in a fixed order and interspersed with diacritic markers. The enumeration thus has the form x_1, x_2, .. x_i, Y_1, $x_i + 1$, $x_i + 2$, ... x_j, Y_2, $x_j + 1$, $x_j + 2$, ... x_n, Y_m, where x_1, x_2 .... x_n are segment types and Y_1, Y_2.... Y_m are diacritic markers. Expressions denoting classes of segment types, *pratyāhāras*, have the form x_pY_q, where x_p precedes Y_q in the *Śivasūtras*. They denote the class of segment types between x_p and Y_q. For example, the *Śivasūtras* begin as follows : *a i u Ṇ*, *ṛ ḷ K*.... From this portion we can form such *pratyāhāras* as *aṆ* ' *a*, *i*, *u* ', *iṆ* ' *i*, *u* ', *iK* ' *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* '. Excluding vacuous *pratyāhāras* comprising only one segment type, we can form a total of 292 possible *pratyāhāras*, out of which 41 have found use in the rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

All these devices are designed specifically for expressing linguistic generalizations based on the way sounds are related to each other in the rules of the grammar. The groupings for which these four rules create terms are tailor-made for Sanskrit, although, as is to be expected in any language on theoretical grounds, these groupings run parallel to the purely phonetic groupings a large part of the way.[15] Thus, these phonological class terms are properly grammatical terms, not phonetic terms.

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[14] E. g. 1.3.2 *upadeśe 'j anunāsika it* " a nasal vowel in underlying representations is *it* ' diacritic ' ".

It is instructive to compare with these systematically defined grammatical terms the three " naive " designations of phonetic categories, each used only once in a more or less *ad hoc* way where a suitable theoretical terms of grammar was not available : *mūrdhanya* ' retroflex ' (including the fricative *ṣ*) (1x), *oṣṭhya* ' labial ' (including *v*) (1x), *dantya* ' dental ' (1x, see Ch. 3 on 7.3.73). Here *ṭU*, *pU* and *tU* would have given incorrect classes. It is significant that when both the phonetic and the grammatical terms could have been used, Pāṇini has invariably used the grammatical term. Thus, he only uses *kU* for velars, although *kaṇṭhya* would have the same effect in 8.2.62 and elsewhere (cf. p. 170 on 8.2.63).

As for the suprasegmental features, which are not included in the *Śivasūtras*, all those which play a role in underlying representations have been defined by rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* :

(1) *Nasality*. Defined in 1.1.8 *mukhanāsikāvacano 'nunāsikaḥ* " what is pronounced with mouth and nose is *anunāsika* ' nasal '. " Nasality as a suprasegmental feature on vowels is not distinctive in Sanskrit, but it figures in Pāṇini's underlying representations to mark diacritic vowels.[16]

(2) *Length*. Defined in 1.2.27 *ūkālo 'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* " a vowel of the length *u*, *ū*, *ū* is called *hrasva* ' short ', *dīrgha* ' long ', and *pluta* ' overlong ', respectively. Length is of course phonemic in Sanskrit. The problem with 1.2.27 is that *pluta* ' overlong, three moras ' was defined along with *hrasva* ' short ' and *dīrgha* ' long '. *Pluta* vowels appear nowhere in underlying representations; they are all introduced by rules 8.2.82–107 in certain pragmatic contexts (questions, answers, sentences shouted from a distance, sentences expressing a doubt, sentences in certain sacrificial acts, etc.). Why is *pluta* defined ? Evidently just in order to bring *pluta* vowels under the scope of the next rule 1.2 28 *acaś ca*, which specifies that *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta* are substitutions for vowels only. Otherwise rules 8.2.82 ff. would wrongly replace final consonants by *pluta* vowels.[17]

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[15] For discussion of how the arrangement of segment types in the *Śivasūtras* deviates from the phonetically natural arrangement in order to allow the grammatically important classes of segments to be expressed by *pratyāhāras*, see the studies of Staal (1962), Cardona (1969), Scharfe (1971), with references to earlier work by Breloer, Faddegon, and Thieme.

[16] Cf. fn. 14.

[17] The fact that *pluta* vowels do not figure in the *upadeśa* system correlates with the fact that they are not substituted for vowel sequences by contraction processes even where they are the closest substitute. It is a general property of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* that the

(3) *Accent.* The accents are defined in 1.2.29–32.

1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ* [28 *ac*] "a high-pitched vowel is *udātta*".

1.2.30 *nīcair anudāttaḥ* [28 *ac*] "a low-pitched vowel is *anudātta*".

1.2.31 *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ* [28 *ac*] "a vowel with a combination (of high and low pitch) is *svarita*".

1.2.32 *tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam* "its first half-mora is *udātta*".

These three accents figure in *upadeśa* representations in underived nominal stems (*avyutpannaprātipadikas*), e. g. *áśva* 'horse'. They also play an important role there as diacritics, both on verb roots (7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe 'nudāttāt*) and on diacritic segments (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam,* also 3 2.149, 6.1.186, 1.3.72).

On the other hand, those suprasegmental features which are always derived by rules are not defined by Pāṇini, viz., *ekaśruti* 'monotone', *sannatara* 'lowered in pitch'.

The other theoretical terms in this domain also have a specifically grammatical meaning assigned to them: *savarṇa* 'homogeneous' (10x),[18] *saṁhitā* 'close transition, absence of juncture' (5x, three of the rules being important *adhikāras* (headings) in the grammar),[19] and its opposite *avasāna* 'pause' (3x).[20] *Saṁhitā* originally referred just to close transition between words in a sentence; Pāṇini generalizes it to the transition between the

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inventory of segment types introduced by the *Śivasūtras* in conjunction with the definitions of the suprasegmental features ot nasality, length, and accent, delimits not only the class of underlying representations, but also the class of substitutions. Phonological processes do not introduce segment types which are not in the *upadeśa* inventory, unless these are specifically named in the rule, which moreover only happens in the rules of the *Tripādī* section (the last three subsections of the grammar containing the sequentially ordered rules). The *Śivasūtras* and defined suprasegmental features provide as it were a universe of discourse for the phonological rules, within which they must remain unless there is a specific indication to the contrary. However, Kātyāyana (Vt. 11 on 1 1.50, p. 124, cf., Patañjali on 1.1.1, vt. 13, I. 44. 14 ff.) points out a difficulty in this respect. Contractions of the type *khaṭvā* + *udakam* → *khaṭvodakam*, *khaṭvā* + *ūḍhaḥ* → *khaṭvoḍhaḥ* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*) and *khaṭvā* + *odanaḥ* → *khaṭvaudanaḥ*, *khatvā* + *aupagavaḥ* → *khaṭvaupagavaḥ* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) will wrongly result in *pluta* vowels of three and four moras, according to the general principle that the closest possible substitute is chosen (1.1.50 *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ*). Cf. Deshpande 1972, p. 249–250 for discussion. It is as if the *pluta* vowels, in spite of being defined in 1.2 27, were not treated as full-fledged phonological categories, but on a par with the other secondary categories introduced by rules of the *Tripādī* section, such as *anusvāra* and *visarjanīya*.

[18] 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarṇam* "what has the same oral articulatory effort is *savarṇa*". Cf. Deshpande (1975).

[19] 1.4.109 *paraḥ saṁnikarṣaḥ saṁhitā* "the closest contact is *saṁhitā*".

[20] 1 4.110 *virāmo 'vasānam* "a cessation is *avasāna*".

segments of a word. *Savarṇa* has a specific meaning in Pāṇini which, as far as I know, does not occur earlier. It is important that fricatives *(ś, ṣ, s)* not be *savarṇa* with the corresponding stop series (*c*, *ṭ*, *t* etc.) and that vowels not be *savarṇa* with consonants (1.1.10 *nājjhalau*). Since this is not obvious from a purely phonetic point of view, Pāṇini was using the term in a specialized sense convenient for the proper operation of grammatical rules. With these terms we may contrast the unanalyzed *antaratama* 'closest' (in phonetic 'feature space')[21], which is used in a strictly phonetic sense.

It appears from this that Pāṇini distinguished between phonological features in their distinctive function in the abstract system of the grammar *(upadeśa)* on the one hand, and in their function of specifying articulatory or auditory properties of sounds on the other. Features with only the latter function were evidently thought of as belonging to the domain of phonetics, while those with a distinctive function were included among the linguistic categories which the grammar was to explicate formally. Contemporary linguistics draws a similar distinction. For example, Trubetzkoy (1939) draws a sharp line between phonological (phonemic) features and phonetic features, whose study according to him belongs to the mental and physical sciences respectively. Chomsky and Halle (1968) similarly distinguish classificatory from phonetic features, though they view them as the same features at different levels of linguistic representation, and reject Trubetzkoy's absolute divorce of phonetics and phonology. In this respect, they take a more Pāṇinian position.[22]

(6) *Other grammatical terms.*

The remainder consists entirely of the grammatical terminology proper (other than that which we have already discussed under the heading of phonological terms). Here is where the great bulk of Pāṇini's technical terms belongs. In fact, for this domain it can be said that nearly everything is *śiṣya* and therefore gets analyzed in the grammar. Nevertheless, even among what we would consider grammatical terms pure and simple, there are a few which are left as primitives in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. These omissions throw light on Pāṇini's linguistics from an unexpected angle.

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[21] 1.1.50 *sthāne 'ntaratamaḥ*.

[22] For certain phonological terms, the question why Pāṇini provided a definition has also been touched on by Cardona. Without entering into the issue more generally, he suggests that *svarita* has been defined because it figures in Pāṇini's metalanguage. I do not really see why that would be a reason, nor what exactly Cardona means by "metalanguage". As usually employed, the term encompasses all of the terminology used in the rules and the problem is precisely to explain why one part of the metalanguage (e. g. *svarita*) is defined and another part (e. g. *visarjanīya*) is not. If, on the other hand, he means by metalanguage the system of diacritic markers, then the criterion will incorrectly predict that *hrasva*, *savarṇa*, *saṁhitā*, and many other terms should not be defined. I am still more puzzled by his account of why *laghu* and *guru* are defined : "Indeed, where Pāṇini introduces such traditional terms by definition, it is usually for a special reason. For example, he defines *laghu* and *guru* [....] in a section headed by a rule (1.4.1 : *ā kaḍārād ekā saṁjñā*) which provides that only one term (*ekā saṁjña*) applies to a given item. This is the section wherein applies the rule (1.4.2) *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam* "In case of conflict (between two operations) the latter is to apply". Thereby a short vowel (e. g. *a*), while qualifying for the *laghu* class [....] is only classed as *guru* [....] if it is followed by a cluster; cf. *Kāś.* ad 1.4.1." (1969, 34B). After seeming to promise an explanation of why *laghu* and *guru* are defined, what Cardona actually delivers here is a perfectly correct but irrelevant explanation of why their definition had to be put under the scope of 1.4.1-2.

We have already noted that gender and number are partly *aśiṣya* notions for Pāṇini: they are not dealt with in so far as they are idiosyncratic, unpredictable features of particular stems or suffixes. It is consistent with this limitation that no terms relating to gender have been defined in the *Aṣṭādhyayī*, and the generic term for the category of number is likewise a primitive. The following undefined terms fall in the categories of gender and number:

(1) *liṅga* ‘gender’ (3x).
(2) *vyakti* ‘gender’ (1x).
(3) *puṁs* ‘masculine’ (7x).
(4) *bhāṣitapuṁska* ‘which can be used as a masculine’ (3x). It refers to non-masculines in which gender is distinctive, as in adjectives.[23]
(5) *strī* ‘feminine’ (24x).
(6) *napuṁsaka* ‘neuter’ (18x).
(7) *vacana* ‘number’ (2x).

That leaves, as far as I can make out, only three terms which it might be considered incumbent on the grammar to define, but which have in fact not been defined in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

(1) *vākya* ‘sentence’. Pāṇini uses it in 8.1.8 *vākyāder āmantritasyāsūyāsaṁmatikopakutsanabhartsaneṣu* [8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*] “a sentence-initial vocative is repeated to express envy, praise, anger, blame, or a threat”, and in 8.2.82 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* [8.1.16 *padasya*] “the last vowel of a sentence [and, vacuously, the consonant (s) following it] become *pluta* ‘three moras long’ and accented [under the following conditions]”[24].

It is not completely clear whether *vākya* in Pāṇini refers just to the entities which in traditional grammar are called sentences, or whether it also can refer to subordinate clauses.

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[23] 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṁvad bhāṣitapuṁskād anūṅ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇīpriyādiṣu* “a feminine not ending in -*ūṄ* which can also be used as a masculine is treated like a masculine in a compound before a coreferential feminine, except before an ordinal and the *priyā* class”. E. g., *darśanīyā bhāryā* “pretty wife” is compounded into *darśanīyabhāryā*, with the adjective assuming its basic, masculine form.

[24] It also occurs in 6.1.139 *upāt pratiyatnavaikṛtavākyādhyāhāreṣu* [137 *karotau*] [135 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ*] “*s* is added to *k* in *karoti* ‘do’ after *upa* in the meanings ‘taking care’ ‘preparing’, and ‘completing a sentence’”.

If, as seems to be the case, the processes 8.1.8 and 8.2.82 are *not* applicable to the sentence-internal beginnings and ends of subordinate clauses (e.g. relative clauses, or clauses with *yadi*, *yāvat* etc.), then *vākya* must refer, against what the tradition thinks, to full sentences only. In any case definitions based on surface structure, such as *ekatiṅ vākyam*[25] " a sentence is (an expression) with a single finite verb " are not precise enough, as shown in the discussion brought together in Joshi (1968, 105–118).[26]

(2) *Śabda* ' expression '. The term is often mistranslated as ' word '. But, as far as I can see, *śabda* in Pāṇini can always be translated as ' expression, utterance ', whereas the usual translation " word " is inappropriate in a number of rules, such as 7.3.67 *vaco 'śabdasaṁjñāyām* [59 *na*] [52 *kuḥ*] " a velar is not substituted for (the final consonant of) *vac*, except when it is lexicalized in the sense of ' *śabda* '. The rule refers to *vākya* ' sentence ' (vs. the non-lexicalized gerundive *vācya* ' to be said '), a word whose meaning could be referred to as " expression ", " utterance " but hardly as " word ". The same misunderstanding of *śabda* has led to the false translation of *śabdānuśāsana* ' analysis of linguistic expressions ' as ' word analysis ', fostering the myth that Pāṇini has no syntax.[27] I confess that I do not see how this general term could be defined within grammar. It may even be called into question whether defining it is to be considered a task for the theory of grammar at all. We cannot really be sure that Pāṇini thought of it as *śiṣya*.

We see in any case that the undefined terms *śabda* and *vākya* present difficulties of definition. Even if they are considered *śiṣya*, Pāṇini's failure to define them does not, it seems to me, seriously conflict with my claim that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has attempted to define all grammatical notions *in so far as this could be done.*

(3) The names of the cases (*prathamā* ' first set of endings, nominative ', *dvitīyā* ' second set of endings, accusative '

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[25] 2.1.1, Vt. 10.

[26] Really, the whole grammar is definition of the term *sentence*, in just the same way as the rules under the *adhikāra* 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ* " up to *kaḍāra*, a compound " are definitions of the term *samāsa* ' compound '. Thus, we might think of *vākye* or *vākyam* as an *adhikāra* on the whole *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which would be an adequate definition of the term.

[27] Scharfe (1971, 40) has the right idea of the meaning of *śabda*, but his rendering of it as " speech sound " is also bad. " Speech sound " is a phonetic term, whose closest equivalent is *varṇa*.

> etc.) are not defined. Rule 4.1.2 *sv-au-jas*..lists the twenty-one underlying case suffixes, and the successive triplets in this list are supposed to be designated by the seven case names *prathamā*, *dvitīyā* etc. Yet no rule in Pāṇini formally effects this correspondence. In the seemingly quite parallel case of person suffixes, the successive triplets in that list are explicitly designated as *prathama*, *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya* (the three persons).[28] I am at a loss to explain why this was omitted for the cases. It is the only place in Pāṇini where the criterion I have suggested as underlying the division between technical and primitive terms really seem to fail, for case is clearly a *śiṣya* category, and yet there is a gap in its formalization. S. D. Joshi suggests that *prathamā* etc. are not really technical terms, since they simply stand for *prathamā vibhakti* etc.

Thus, with a very small unexplained residue, my criterion neatly separates the theoretical terms from the primitive terms, uncovering a rational system in what so far has looked rather erratic. What is truly remarkable is not that Pāṇini has had to take *vākya* and *śabda* as primitives and omitted to define the case terms, but that he has been able to reduce practically the whole theoretical edifice of grammar in a precise way to primitive terms, which can be understood outside of grammar. The *saṁjñā* rules form a system which is as carefully worked out as the *vidhi* rules, and must be considered as an integral part of the grammatical analysis. Little could be added or removed there without destroying the coherence of the whole. This gives added weight to the structural arguments based on the formulation of 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*, to which I now revert.

In the system of *saṁjñā* rules we can discern three important properties, which I will call *systematicity*, *simplicity* and *consistency*. Under the traditional view that *vā* and *vibhāṣā* are synonyms, 1.4.44 violates each one of these properties, while under the hypothesis proposed here, it is consistent with them all.

(1) By saying that the terminology is *systematic*, I mean what I have tried to establish above, namely that Pāṇini has attempted to analyze within the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* all and only those concepts which he considered to fall within the province of grammar. It really involves two separate assertions: that the analysis has not been extended outside of the bounds of grammar to concepts which are strictly semantic, phonetic, literary etc.; and that the analysis has been pushed as far as possible within the bounds of grammar leaving as primitives only those concepts (such as *vākya* 'sentence') for which no grammatical analysis could be found, short of the grammar itself (fn. 26).

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[28] 1.4.101 *tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathamamadhyamottamānḥ*.

No matter how we look at it, the words for "optional" will not fit in this picture under the traditional interpretation of their meaning. There is no clear reason why *vibhāṣā,* if it simply means "optional", should be a theoretical term of grammar at all, any more than *na* 'not' or *nityam* 'always' are theoretical terms of grammar. Therefore, it is somewhat puzzling that Pāṇini should have formulated the *saṁjñā* rule 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* in the first place.[29] The fact is that he considered the concept "*vibhāṣā*" to be a specifically grammatical one. But this leads straight into a glaring inconsistency : *anyatarasyām*, being synonymous with *vibhāṣā*, should therefore be a theoretical term also. Yet it has nowhere been defined in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. This is a clear violation of the property I have termed systematicity.

On the other hand, everything is as it should be if we assume the interpretation I have suggested. On this interpretation, *vā* and *vibhāṣā* are both used in a special way peculiar to grammar, which has no exact counterpart, as far as is known, either in any of the other *śāstras*, or in ordinary Sanskrit. The notion of preferred or marginal option is foreign to other kinds of rule systems, such as ritual *Sūtras*, and even to that which is closest in kind to grammar, the *Prātiśākhyas*. Therefore it is not surprising that Pāṇini should have formulated the *saṁjñā* rule 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*. There was no way of analyzing both *vā* and *vibhāṣā*, but once one of the two was taken as a primitive, the other could be defined in terms of it.

(2) *Simplicity* is a famous trait of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, even though it is often misunderstood. The much quoted value which is supposed to be attached by linguists to the brute saving of moras[30] is not to be ascribed to Pāṇini (Thieme 1937/38, 199–200, cf. also Cardona 1969, 41, fn. 91). Any fool could have made the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* shorter for Pāṇini in all sorts of trivial ways by choosing shorter terms[31] or different metalinguistic conventions.[32] Pāṇini did not do so because it would have no systematic linguistic significance.[33] The point is rather that the rules are strictly purged of all infor-

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[29] Kātyāyana's final conclusion in his discussion of 1.1.44 is that the rule is unnecessary because what it says is known (outside of grammar) : Vt. 19 *aśiṣyo vā viditatvāt*. Patañjali adds that even the ritualists understand *vibhāṣā* without providing an explicit definition for it (he quotes ritual statements with *vibhāṣita*) and observes that Pāṇini himself uses many other words to mark optionality : *bahulam, anyatarasyām, ubhayathā* (on these see Ch. 5), *vā*, *ekeṣām* 'according to some'. The last expression does not strictly speaking mean that the rule is optional, but the later tradition reinterpreted any mention of other linguists in a rule as an indication of optionality.

[30] *Ardhamātrālāghavena putrotsavaṁ manyante vaiyākaraṇāḥ* (Pbh. 122) "linguists rejoice over the saving of half a mora as much as over the birth of a son".

[31] For example, *vā* throughout instead of *anyatarasyām* and *vibhāṣā*, or artificial monosyllabic terms instead of terms like *sārvadhātuka, sarvanāmasthāna.*

[32] Hundreds of moras could have been saved by selecting the accusative instead of the genitive case as marking the input of a rule.

[33] Later linguists, however, made efforts to expand the use of short artificial terms in their grammars.

mation that is predictable from other information provided in the system.[34] What Pāṇini consistently strives to eliminate is not moras but redundancy.

As for *saṁjñā* rules, nothing is put into them which is not necessary to pick out the intended sense of the term in an unambiguous way. But if the terms for " optionally " are taken to be synonymous, then there is one *saṁjñā* rule which is exceptional in that it contains a redundancy : 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*. The rule tells us that *vibhāṣā* means " *na vā* ", that is " *vā* not ". But if *vā* means the same thing as *vibhāṣā*, why was not *vibhāṣā* defined more simply as " *vā* " ? Since,by the very meaning of optionality, any rule which may be optionally applied may also be optionally not applied, and vice versa, the negation in the rule would have had to be dropped as redundant.

Patañjali tries to motivate the negation by appealing to a distinction between *prāpta* and *aprāpta* options. *Prāpta* options are processes which, if they were not stated in an optional rule, would apply obligatorily. For example, 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā* (p. 148), which says that the augment *iṬ* is optionally inserted before an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix beginning with a consonant (except *y*) after the verbs *svarati, sūti* etc., says that a process which would be obligatory by the general rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, is really merely optional. *Aprāpta* options are processes which, if they were not stated in an optional rule, would not apply at all. For example, the optional addition of *sātl* by 5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye* (Ch. 2, p. 23) would not take place at all if the rule were withdrawn. *Ubhayatra* options are combinations of *prāpta* and *aprāpta* options. Patañjali argues that *prāpta* options are logically complex, incorporating both a negation of the obligatory process and a renewed introduction of the corresponding optional process. Thus, 7.2.44 both negates obligatory *iṬ* by 7.2.35 and enjoins optional *iṬ* in its domain. This double operation is provided for by mentioning both *na* and *vā* in 1.1.44. The definition would thus mean something like : " an option consists of a negation and an optional positive injunction ".

All this is quite unconvincing, for if such is the purpose of defining *vibhāṣā* as *na vā*, then we would expect only *vibhāṣā* to be used in *prāpta* options. But *vā* and *anyatarasyām* are also common in them.[35] Patañjali thinks that although the definition is stated only for *vibhāṣā*, it is meant to apply to all the terms for " optionally ". This would be anomalous, for Pāṇini's *saṁjñā* rules everywhere else assign meanings just to the particular term specified in the rule itself. Besides, a *prāpta* option is logically a type of *niyama* and requires no special notion of optionality in order to be interpreted properly.

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[34] For example, the featuras of length are never specified in the rules as being associated with vowels, because this follows from the general rule 1.1.28 *acaś ca* (see above, p. 221).

[35] E. g. 7.2.44 (above), 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*, 6.1.106 *vā chandasi* (p. 67), 3.4.88 *vā chandasi* (p. 64), 3.1.54 *ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*, 6.2.30 *bahv anyatarasyām*, 7.3.9 *padāntasyānyatarasyām*.

On the interpretation I propose, the definition given by Pāṇini was absolutely necessary. The terms *vā* ‘ usually, preferably ’ and *vibhāṣā* ‘ rarely, preferably not ’ are *not* synonymous, so that *veti *vibhāṣā* would have been simply wrong. However, they are interdefinable by means of negation : *vibhāṣā* is exactly equivalent to *na vā*, just as Pāṇini has defined it.

(3) By *consistency*, the third property of Pāṇini’s theoretical terminology, I mean the avoidance of synonymy. Whenever *Pāṇini introduces a term formally into his system, he sticks to it throughout.* He neither introduces another synonymous theoretical term alongside it, nor, what is more remarkable, uses equivalent non-theoretical terms in their place. Having defined *avasāna*, he never uses any other term in that meaning, in particular not its *definiens virāma*. To prove that Pāṇini’s theoretical terminology is consistent in this sense, I will review the cases collected by Bhate (1970, 317–319), where Pāṇini uses, or seems to use, two or more terms in the same meaning. Consistency will have been demonstrated if it can be shown that, in so far as genuine synonymy is involved, all terms in question are non-theoretical.

(1) “ Grammatical operation ” : *vidhi* (7x),[36] *kārya* (1x).[37]

(2) “ Iteration, repeated action ” : *abhyāsa* (1x),[38] *samabhihāra* (1x).[39]

(3) “ (Grammatical) connection ” : *yukta* (1x),[40] *yoga* (1x).[41]

(4) “ Elsewhere, otherwise ” : *śeṣe* (8x),[42] *anyatra* (2x),[43] *anyataḥ* (1x).[44]

(5) “ Following ” : *uttara* (6x),[45] *para* (34x),[46] *udaya* (1x).[47]

(6) “ Denoting ” : *-vacana* (27x),[48] *-vācin* (3x).[49]

(7) “ *Iti* in the *padapāṭha* ” : *upasthita* (1x),[50] *anārṣa iti* (1x).[51]

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[36] E. g. 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo ’nalvidhau.*

[37] 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam.*

[38] 1.3.71 *mithyopapadāt kṛño ’bhyāse.*

[39] 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ.*

[40] 2.3.4 *antarāntareṇa yukte.*

[41] 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā.*

[42] E. g. 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe.*

[43] E. g. 3.4.96 *vaito ’nyatra.*

[44] 4.1.40 *anyato ṅīṣ.*

[45] E. g. 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya.*

[46] E. g. 1.1.47 *mid aco ’ntyāt paraḥ.*

[47] 8.4.67 *nodāttasvaritodayam agārgyakāśyapagālavānām.* The Kāśikā suggests that this exceptional use of *udaya*, which also means “ success, good fortune ”, is to end the grammar with a sign of good luck.

[48] E. g. 1.4.89 *āṅ maryādāvacane.*

[49] E. g. 2.3.68 *adhikaraṇavācinaś ca.*

[50] 6.1.129 *aplutavad upasthite.*

[51] 1.1.16 *saṁbuddhau śākalyasyetāv anārṣe.*

(8) "Action" : *kriyā* (16x),[52] *karman* (7x),[53] *karaṇa* (1x),[54] *bhāva* (28x).[55]

(9) "Substance, object" : *sattva* (2x),[56] *adhikaraṇa* (3x,[57] plus 8x in *samānādhikaraṇa* 'coreferent, co-reference', *ekādhikaraṇa* 'single object') *dravya* (1x)[58]. The tradition also interprets *bandhu* in 5.4.9 *jātyantāc cha bandhuni* as equivalent to *dravya,* but Böhtlingk translates it simply as "relationship of belonging". I will not pursue the point as it is not essential to my argument.

(10) "Purpose" : *artha* (1x),[59] *abhiprāya* (1x),[60]

(11) "Difference" : *prakāra* (1x),[61] *viśeṣa* (3x).[62]

(12) "Gender" : *liṅga* (3x),[63] *vyakti* (1x).[64]

(13) "Verbal complement" : *kriyārthopapada* (1x),[65] *tumartha* (1x).[66]

(14) "Veda (Brāhmaṇas and Saṁhitās)" : *chandas* (104x) : *nigama* (5x)[67] (see above, p. 56).

(15) "Penultimate" : *antyāt pūrva* (1x),[68] *upottama* (1x).[69] *upadhā* is specially defined as the penultimate *segment* (1.1. 65).

(16) "The vowel *a*" : *a* (7x),[70] *avarṇa* (3x).[71] Why is *a* the only sound with two designations? Is it possible that *avarṇa* was the earlier term used for *a* before the idea of denoting short, closed *a* [ə] in the grammar by [*a*] was hit upon ?

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[52] E. g. 3.2.126 *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ.*

[53] E. g. 5.1.124 *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca.*

[54] E. g. 3.1.17 *śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe.*

[55] E. g. 3.3.11 *bhāvavacanāś ca.*

[56] E. g. 1.4.57 *cādayo 'sattve.*

[57] E. g. 5.3.43 *adhikaraṇavicale ca.*

[58] 5.4.11 *kimetattiṅavyayaghādāṁvadravyuprakarṣe.*

[59] 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau krīyāyāṁ kriyārthāyām.*

[60] 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale.*

[61] 5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl.*

[62] E. g. 1.2.65 *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ.*

[63] E. g. 2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā.*

[64] 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane.*

[65] 2.3.14 *kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ.*

[66] 2.3.15 *tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt.*

[67] 7.3.81 *mīnāter nigame.*

[68] 1.1.65 *alo 'ntyāt pūrva upadhā.*

[69] 6.1.217 *upottamaṁ riti.*

[70] E. g. 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ.*

[71] E. g. 6.3.112 *sahivahor od avarṇasya.*

Though it is not necessary for the argument which I am going to make, it may be pointed out in passing that the list needs to be pared down further. In several cases, the alleged synonymy is an artifact of traditional interpretation, and a closer analysis reveals consistant meaning differences between the words.

Re (1) The word *kārya* probably came to mean " grammatical operation " only after Pāṇini. In Pāṇini it can always be translated as a gerundive meaning " to be done " (cf. 5.1.93, 5.1.96, 5.2.20). Therefore 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam* is better translated as " in case of conflict, the later (operation) is to be carried out ", not as " in case of conflict the later operation (is to be carried out) ". Since this is the only case where *kārya* could possibly mean " operation ", case (1) can be erased from the list.

Re (8) *karman* in all cases refers to " action " in the concrete senses of " doing something ", " deed ', " profession ", while *kriyā* is used for " action " in the abstract sense. *Karaṇa* in the one case where it appears in this meaning refers to actions of producing, causing or bringing into effect (as in *śabdāyate* ' makes noise '. *Bhāva* is the general term for abstract nominalizations and includes " state " as well as " action " in its broad meaning. Therefore case (8) should be eliminated.

Re (11) *prakāra* in 5.3.23 means " manner ", as it normally does in Sanskrit. Thus, *prakāra* is not synonymous with *viśeṣa* in Pāṇini.

Re (13) 2.3.14 *kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ* assigns the dative case [13 *caturthī*] to the object (*karmaṇi*) of an underlying deleted (*sthāninaḥ*) adjunct denoting an action (*kriyārthopapadasya*). Thus *edhebhyo vrajati* ' he goes for firewood ' is implicitly derived from something of the form *edhān āhartum vrajati* ' he goes to get firewood '. In the next rule, 2.3.15 *tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt*, a noun denoting a state or action (*bhāvavacana*) is assigned the dative case when it has the meaning of an infinitive (*tumartha*) e.g., *pākāya vrajati* ' he goes for cooking ' = *paktuṁ vrajati*. The difference here is that no verb is assumed to be implicitly present, so that the term *kriyārthopapada* would be inapplicable. Moreover the meaning of *tum* is given in a precise manner in a series of rules : 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyāṁ kriyārthāyām* " *tumuN* and *ṆvuL* (= *aka* with *vṛddhi* and presuffixal accent) are added to denote a future action which is the purpose of an action ", 3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun* ' a verb which is the complement of a verb denoting wishing gets *tumUN* if the two verbs have the same agent' e.g., *bhoktum icchati* 'he wants to eat'; 3.3.167 *kālasamayavelāsu tumun* "*kāla, samaya. velā* (expressions of time) take *tumUN* in their complement", e. g., *bhoktuṁ kālaḥ* 'time to eat', 3.4.65 *śakadhṛṣajñāglāghaṭarabhalabhakramasahārhāstyartheṣu tumun* "verbs meaning *śak* 'is able' etc. have complements with *tumUN*", e. g., *bhoktuṁ śaknoti* 'he can eat' (In the interpretation of this last rule I follow Apte 1891, 121, fn.). Therefore there can be no question of any synonymy between *kriyārthopapada* and *tumartha* in 2.3.14, 15.

The main point to note, however, is the following: In none of the above 16 cases does the synonymy involve a term which is defined within Pāṇini's system of rules.

Bhate cites two other cases which do involve the use of two terms, one defined within the system, the other a non-theoretical term, in what appears to be the same meaning. But one of these must, on closer examination, also be dropped from the list, because no synonymy is in reality involved. It is the use of *apradhāna* 'subsidiary (word)' beside *upasarjana*. *Apradhāna* occurs twice: in 2.3.19 *sahayukte 'pradhāne*, which assigns the instrumental case to the subsidiary member of a conjunct, e.g. *putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā* 'the father came *with* his son', and in 6.2.189 anor *apradhānakanīyasī*, which assigns final accent to a word depending on *anu* in a compound, e.g. *anujyeṣṭhá* 'the second oldest'. But in neither of these rules could the technical term *upasarjana* have been used instead of *apradhāna*. It is introduced by the two rules 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṁ samāsa upasarjanam* "what is designated in the nominative case in a compound (rule) is termed *upasarjana* and 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte* "what has a single case (in the derivation of a compound) is also (termed *upasarjana*), but does not come first". What Pāṇini refers to by *apradhāna* is neither in 2.3.19 nor in 6.2.189 an *upasarjana*. In the first case we do not even have a compound, so that the term *upasarjana* is completely inapplicable to anything in *putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā*. In the second case we have a compound, but it is the *anu* which is the *upasarjana*, being in the nominative in the rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* by which *anujyeṣṭhá* is derived—note that it could not otherwise precede in the compound by 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṁ pūrvam*. Thus *upasarjana* for Pāṇini is a formally defined notion quite distinct from *apradhāna*. According to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, earlier grammatical works used *upasarjana* in the sense of *apradhāna*,[72] and the later grammar of Candra conversely uses *apradhāna* in the sense of Pāṇini's *upasarjana* (Renou 1957 s.v.). Still, in Pāṇini they are distinct.

What does appear to be a real, if minimal case of synonymy between two terms of which one is formally a part of the system, is the use of *vṛddha* in rule 1.2.65 *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* in the meaning for which Pāṇini elsewhere (15 times) uses the technical term *gotra*. *Gotra* is introduced by the rule 4.1.162 *apatyaṁ pautraprabhṛti gotram* " a descendant from a grandchild onwards is termed *gotra* ", with the restrictions in rules 4.1.163 ff. that such a descendant under certain conditions is to be termed *yuvan* instead. Older grammars, again according to the *Mahābhāṣya*,[73] used *vṛddha* in the sense of Pāṇini's term *gotra*, and in view of the terminological parallelism *vṛddha* ' old ' / *yuvan* ' young ' this is very likely to have been the case. The term also enjoyed some popularity after Pāṇini, for Kātyāyana uses it. In addition, it occurs in 4.1.166 *vṛddhasya ca pūjāyām*, which is known not to have been in the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, but comes from Kātyāyana's Vt. 3 on 4.1.163, which has been interpolated into the grammar at an early date, as shown by Kielhorn (1887).

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[72] Vt. 3 on 4.1 14, and Patañjali : *pūrvasūtre 'pradhānasyopasarjanam iti saṁjñā kriyate.*

We have found that Pāṇini uses his theoretical terms with practically complete consistency. Out of about 200 theoretical terms introduced formally in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, of which many occur dozens of times there, none has a synonym, either theoretical or non-theoretical, except for the single case of *vṛddha* for *gotra* in rule 1.2.65. We cannot explain this consistency in any other way than by assuming that the author deliberately designed his grammar that way. Whatever earlier pre-Pāṇinian elements were taken over into it must have been terminologically adapted to standard Pāṇinian usage, and whatever supplementary rules were later interpolated into it must have followed the conventions of the original.

On the traditional interpretation, the words for " optional " would form a massive set of exceptions to the principle of consistency. The theoretical term *vibhāṣā*, occurring 112 times, would have beside it the synonyms *anyatarasyām* (93 times) and *vā* (106 times), alternating with each other randomly. It should be noted that all three words are spread over all sections of the grammar and over different types of grammatical rules.

What are the chances of explaining away the inconsistency as due to later additions ? They are practically nil. We would have to say that one of the three words is Pāṇinian and the other two are contained exclusively in interpolated rules. Presumably the Pāṇinian term would be the one he defines, *vibhāṣā*, unless we were to consider 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* as an interpolation too. But whichever it is, we would have to consider two thirds of Pāṇini's optional rules as later additions to the grammar. If the same proportion of obligatory rules were interpolated also, at least two and a half thousand rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* would have to be counted as later additions. This is an absurdity because of the network of implications connecting the rules : it would be impossible to remove that many rules and still have a formally (let alone descriptively) complete system. Moreover the terms figure in important rules, including *adhikāra* rules, which cannot conceivably have been lacking in the original (See Ch. 2, items 12–16, and Ch. 5 on *anyatarasyām*).

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[73] Patañjali on 1.2.68 : *pūrvasūtre gotrasya vṛddham iti saṁjñā kriyate.*

On the interpretation I propose, the consistency of Pāṇini's terminology is fully preserved. Each of the three terms is used in its proper place according to the intended meaning.

In conclusion, a closer look at Pāṇini's terminology reveals three general principles, systematicity, simplicity, and consistency, which are all violated by the terms for "optionally", and almost only by them, if they are taken as synonyms as the tradition would have it. On the proposed interpretation, they are all consistent with each of these principles. This constitutes an argument on internal, structural grounds in favour of that interpretation.

CHAPTER VII

PĀṆINI AND THE TRADITION

We have found support for our hypothesis both through internal analysis of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and through a comparison of its optional rules with actual linguistic usage. In the two domains where the rules can be checked at the right address, viz. in Pāṇini's own usage (Ch. 2) and in Vedic (Ch. 3), the agreement proved to be very close. Where chronological differences came in the way, the agreement naturally is not equally close, though it is still far closer than could possibly be due to chance. This was the case in the large corpus of post-Pāṇinian Classical usage (Ch. 4), and in the small corpus of pre-Pāṇinian traditional technical terms enshrined in Pāṇini's grammar (Ch. 6, p. 213 ff.). The discrepancies between rules and usage there are certainly well within what might be expected to arise in the normal course of language change. To a lesser extent they may also be due to later changes in the Pāṇinian text and even to inaccuracies in Pāṇini's formulations of some rules. We were able to identify one such type of systematic inaccuracy in the phenomenon of " rounding off " (p. 53).

The cumulative force of these several separate strands of evidence is sufficient to establish our hypothesis beyond reasonable doubt. A technical feature of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is perhaps unique in all the *sūtra* literature, has been rescued from oblivion.

How long has it lain in this oblivion ? Joshi and Roodbergen (1971, 157–160) have suggested that Patañjali may have known of some meaning difference between the terms for optionality, on the strength of a passage in his *Bhāṣya* on 2.1.58, which they translate as follows :

" Necessarily, indeed, we have to use an expression like *bahulam* : ' often ', *anyatarasyām* : ' in one of the two ', *ubhayathā* : ' in both ways ', *vā* : ' optionally ', *ekeṣām* : ' (according to the opinion) of some '. Because this (branch of) science is *sarvavedapāriṣada* ' belonging to the schools of all Vedas '. This being so we cannot adopt a uniform method. "[1]

They go on to explain Patañjali's intention as being to say that " since Vedic usage is not uniform, a grammar would necessarily require devices to show gradation in the applicability of its rules ", and suggest glosses for

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[1] *avaśyaṁ khalv apy asmābhir idaṁ vaktavyaṁ bahulam anyatarasyām ubhayathā ekeṣām iti. sarvavedapāriṣadaṁ hīdaṁ śāstram. tatra naikaḥ panthāḥ śakya āsthātum* (Vol. 1, p. 400). The passage is repeated word for word in the *Bhāṣya* on 6.3.14 (Vol. 3, p. 146).

bahulam as 'applicable in the majority of cases', *anyatarasyām* as 'one of the two Vedic forms or regional languages', *ubhayathā* as 'one of two Vedic forms', and for *vā* as simply 'optionally'. While these glosses are incorrect, still their observation that "one should not form the impression that Pāṇini used his terms for option indiscriminately" is a remarkable anticipation of the findings presented here.

Nevertheless, I am not convinced that any such opinion can be read into the passage quoted from Patañjali. If Patañjali really meant that the terms denote different gradations of optionality, he would surely have said so, for it would have solved his difficulty with regard to 2.1.58 (cf. p. 41, item 15 f.). He would also have said so in the *Bhāṣya* on 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*, where the whole tenor of his actual discussion shows that he had no notion of the meaning difference in question. I am not aware of any other passage either where Patañjali shows that he knows what is going on. The sense of the quoted passage from the *Bhāṣya* on 2.1.58 remains obscure.

We must conclude that there are not only things in the commentators that Pāṇini knew nothing about, but also things in Pāṇini which even the oldest commentators know nothing about. Evidently there cannot have been a direct teacher-student tradition linking Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. It is scarcely imaginable that such an important feature of the grammar would have failed to be preserved if there had been such a link. The only possibility is that the tradition of Pāṇini's school was not known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, either because it had already died out, or because it was active in a different region of India.

There are two other important factors which went along with this discontinuity of tradition. First, the process of linguistic change took its inexorable course between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana and Patañjali. As we noted, change is particularly rapid in the patterns of preference among optional variants. While, in general, the language of Kātyāyana and Patañjali is still very close to the language of Pāṇini, in just this respect various differences could have already developed. And secondly, the distinction among the three types of optionality is on the whole a supervenient feature of the system. It can be eliminated without leaving very many noticeable traces of its existence behind. The combined effect of these two factors was decisive: linguistic change prevented Kātyāyana and Patañjali from recognizing the three-way distinction of optionality on the basis of the linguistic facts known to them (*prayoga*), and the lack of interaction of the distinction with the grammatical system as a whole prevented them from recognizing it on the basis of internal analysis (*jñāpaka*). Later grammarians, of course, were still less in a position to discover it, though some of them must have perceived the multiplicity of terms for "optionally", as well as the curious definition of *vibhāṣā*, as disturbing anomalies (Candra, for example, replaces all instances of *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* by *vā* in his grammar).

Most modern Pāṇini research has adopted a critical and historical approach to the interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But these terms have a wide range of concrete applications, and there is by no means any unanimous agreement on a definite set of principles and methodological assumptions. One finds a considerable spread of opinion especially with regard to how the post-Pāṇinian grammatical tradition is related historically to Pāṇini, and, therefore, how it ought to be utilized for the interpretation of Pāṇini. The disparity of approaches is sometimes made explicit (e.g., Thieme 1956, 1957) more often it is implicit in the different characteristic ways in which scholars go about their work : in the assumptions which they are or are not willing to make and the evidence which they are or are not willing to accept.

Any attempt to categorize the different views which are held and have been held on this matter is bound to do some injustice to the often quite nuanced positions of particular scholars. Still it is possible to distinguish a few main types of approach.

Let us consider first the view that the interpretation of Pāṇini must be based on the whole tradition, including not only the *Mahābhāṣya* but also such later works as the *Kāśikā*. This may be called the conservative position, both because it involves upholding the traditionally received interpretation of the text, and because it is itself normally justified on the grounds that the whole sequence of commentaries reflects at least in part a conservative, unbroken tradition going back to Pāṇini's days. To make things quite clear, I will explain the sense in which I mean " based on " to be understood here : an interpretation *I* is based on a text *T* if the fact that *I* is either implicitly or explicitly accepted in *T* is in itself taken as evidence (conclusive or just suggestive) that *I* is correct. Thus, we are *not* basing *I* on *T* if we accept *I* on the strength of an argument made in *T*. For example, if we accepted the *Kāśikā* interpretation of 7.3.73 *lug vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye* (p. 161) because we found its reasoning convincing, we would not be basing our interpretation on the *Kāśikā*, in the sense in which I am using " based on " here. But if we were to any extent inclined to accept that interpretation simply because the *Kāśikā* gives it, we would to that extent be basing our interpretation on the *Kāśikā*.

Therefore, the issue has nothing to do with the intrinsic *value* of post-Pāṇinian works. No one questions their enormous usefulness and linguistic interest, especially that of the *Mahābhāṣya* The issue is rather : what is their status in their tradition ? The conservative view is that they possess a special claim to authority as links in a chain of tradition which has carried authentic information about the meaning of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* down to our days. The contrary, " radical " view would be that the interpretations and arguments set forth in them have no special status in themselves : they are in principle on a par with the interpretations and arguments which a modern scholar might offer, and they are to be accepted or rejected like these on the basis of evidence from usage or from the internal structure of the text. To put it another way, the question is whether the post-Pāṇinian works are primary sources or secondary sources for the interpretation of Pāṇini.

Of course, we are not obliged to give an all-or-nothing answer. Various mixed or intermediate positions can reasonably be taken and have in fact been taken, for various reasons which have not always been made explicit. One might, for example, consider that the original *vṛtti* was handed down orally along with the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while the *paribhāṣās* and other " higher " interpretation may not be of equal authenticity. Or one might say that the text we now have is full of interpolations, but that even the later tradition has nevertheless correctly preserved the original meaning of the rules. An extreme representative of this view is Birwe (1966), who takes the existing text to be a veritable patchwork, arguing that no less than 255 out of 631 rules in the third *adhyāya* are later additions, while at the same time completely accepting the traditional interpretation of every rule in the existing text. For example, he contends (p. 96) that 3.1.50 *gupeś chandasi* is a later addition to the grammar, for no other reason than that the word *vibhāṣā* is continued into it from the preceding rule 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ*, which he has expelled from the original text on other grounds. But we have seen (p. 61–62) that the assumption that *vibhāṣā* is continued here, though traditional, fits neither with the attested linguistic facts nor with Pāṇini's system of *anuvṛtti*, so that it can only be accepted if, as done by Birwe, the authority of the *Kāśikā* is taken as decisive. Birwe thus represents a mixture of the most radical and the most conservative approaches to the interpretation of Pāṇini.

The conservative position has been expressly formulated and defended by Agrawala (1963) :

" .. Pāṇini became the originator of a tradition of *sūtra* explanation which was handed down through an unbroken succession of Pāṇinīya teachers and pupils following that system. " (P. 32). " The antiquity and the genuineness of the Pāṇinian tradition are factors which must weigh with us in assessing the value of whatever commentaries are now left to us. Every commentary should be viewed as a link and a very important link too, in the chain of Pāṇinian interpretation. " (P. 33). Agarwal points to the scholars which we know to have come between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and between Kātyāyana and Patañjali. He suggests that even some of the stock examples used to illustrate Pāṇini's rules may be as old as Pāṇini himself (P. 31).

This view is also held by a number of western Sanskritists. For example, Burrow (1955, 49) states, referring to the *Kāśikā* : " In spite of this enormous chronological difference it seems that most of the vast linguistic material contained in this commentary goes back to Pāṇini himself through an accurate and unbroken tradition." A more cautious but still basically similar assessment of the tradition is implicit in some of Renou's works : for example, in his translation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which is mainly based on the interpretation offered by Puruṣottama's *Bhāṣāvṛtti* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. What seems to be a common view could be summarized as follows : the commentaries, beginning with the *Mahābhāṣya*, admittedly introduce various new interpretations, often of a quibbling, "scholastic" sort, and in the earliest period scholars even go so far as to interpolate *vārttikas* as new rules into the body of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. They do this in order to be able to derive expressions which Pāṇini did not account for, either by oversight or because they did not yet exist in the language of his own time. But the commentaries also preserve the original elements, at least the more important ones, of the *vṛtti* which Pāṇini handed down with his *sūtras*. In other words, while adding to the tradition they yet retain its original content.

From this view it would follow that in order to arrive at something close to Pāṇini's original conception, we would merely have to sweep away the accretions which have crept into the tradition over time : eliminate the spurious *paribhāṣās*, clean out the interpolations that have been slipped into the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, correct an occasional overly artificial interpretation of a rule.

Now, while this is a resonable stand to take in the absence of any specific information, it must be noted that there is nothing that particularly speaks for it. The fact that Kātyāyana and Patañjali quote other scholars who discussed Pāṇini's grammar, which Agrawala takes as his main argument, in reality proves nothing, for we have no positive reason to believe that the complete works of those scholars had survived or even that they for their part stood in a direct tradition originating from Pāṇini himself. The view that Kātyāyana and Patañjali have preserved in their works "all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors" (Kielhorn, quoted by Agrawala, p. 34), can there be maintained only if we add : all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors *which were accessible to them.* What guarantee is there that even with the best of intentions they were able to retain an unbroken thread of tradition? On the contrary, such historical events as the invasions of the Yavanas and Śakas, the migration from the Northwest to the plains, and the challenge of Buddhism to Brahmanical orthodoxy would all have been powerful threats to the maintenance of continuity in the learned schools.

The conservative position becomes untenable in view of the findings presented above. A central element of the meaning of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the threefold distinction among optional rules, was clearly *not known to Kātyāyana, Patañjali, or any later commentator.* This means that the tradition is not reliable even with regard to the basic level of *vṛtti* or "factual" interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The most straightforward hypothesis is that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* came to Kātyāyana and Patañjali not as living oral tradition, but in the form of a manuscript, and that whatever *vṛtti* went along with it was of secondary origin, and considered as such by them. This is consistent with what we know otherwise about Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's relation to the tradition. They do not have any *first-hand* knowledge, for example, about which vowels in the grammar are nasalized and provided with the different accents indicating the grammatical properties of roots and the status of words as *adhikāras* in the system. These are considered as things to be found out by means of interpretation. But they are precisely the features which an orally transmitted text (such as the Vedas) would have been likely to retain, while they would not necessarily have been marked in manuscripts.

Another indication that even a genuine *vṛtti* tradition was lacking is that the traditional interpretation of a surprising number of rules is quite evidently mistaken. Among the rules we considered here, we found that more than twenty are either probably or certainly to be taken in a different way than the Pāṇinīyas tell us. Often Kātyāyana and even Patañjali can still be shown to have had the correct idea, or at least a more correct idea, of what the rule means; but occasionally the error is there from the very beginning. We have found obligatory rules mistaken for optional and (in one case) vice versa (1.1.34, 1.1.35, 1.1.36, 2.4.79, 3.1.50, 3.1.141, 6.1.27–28, 6.2.197, 6.2.198,), other misapprehensions of the scope of *anuvṛtti* (8.3.49, 8.3.79), misdivisions of the text (5.3.13, 8.2.74), and cases where it is in varying degrees likely that the purport of a rule has been misunderstood wholly or in part (3.1.143, 3.2.106–7, 3.3.14, 3.3.143, 3.4.88, 7.3.73, 7.4.44).

We have also found some confirmation for the suspicion already expressed by other scholars[2] that the *gaṇas*, or at least the *ākṛti-gaṇas* were not listed by Pāṇini, much less by his predecessors, but are later compilations. They must have been prepared at a time when the original meaning differences between *vā*, *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* had already been forgotten. On the other hand, no evidence for any modifications of the *Dhātupāṭha* came to light.

The conservative position has been criticized sharply by Thieme (1956). He argues for a philological, and therefore historical, interpretation of Pāṇini which is to be based in the first place on a thorough understanding of the *Mahābhāṣya*. And by this he means to negate two notions : not only that the commentators who come after Pāṇini might have some independent contribution of their own to make to the understanding of Pāṇini, but also, that we might ourselves, by taking a fresh look at the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, obtain insights independently of the *Mahābhāṣya*. All this is emphatically set forth in a series of theses, of which I quote the gist here because of their fundamental importance :

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[2] E g. Scharfe 1961, 49, fn. 1; Thieme 1958, p. 31, fn. 14; Laddu 1974, p. 119 f., 134, 224.

— We should try to understand Pāṇini " by using our own judgment, based on critical and methodical reasoning, and not by blindly following any tradition, however excellent its features may appear ". (1956, 17)

— " We cannot rely on the indigenous commentaries. But we can put them to excellent use " not indeed on account of any traditional knowledge, which they may or may not have been possessed of, but because they evince a familiarity with the work of Patañjali in which they will never again be equalled (Kielhorn, *Kātyāyana and Patañjali,* 7) ". (P. 18)

— " . . .the attempt to understand Pāṇini by " bare reasoning, " by unaided commonsense, is inadequate, and. . ., when looking for assistance from the indigenous interpretation, we are faced with the fact that there is only one source of primary value : the *Mahābhāṣya.* All the others, from the *Kāśikā* down to Nāgojībhaṭṭa, are only important in that they may contribute to the interpretation of Patañjali. "

— " Understanding the *Mahābhāsya* must be our first aim. To reach it, we should leave no stone unturned. " (P. 20)

— " The value of the *Mahābhaṣya* for the explanation of Pāṇini lies, consequently, by no means in its containing any older tradition coming down from Pāṇini or his pupils, but only in its arguments, which we may refute by using our own judgment, and its technique of handling the procedures of grammar, which we may improve upon if we can. But before attempting either, we must be sure of having understood the arguments and mastered the technique. " (P. 22)

— " (The technique) is in principle adequate, but just not because it is " traditional ", but only because it works and is the only one that can be applied consistently. It is evident that it furnishes the key for Pāṇini. " (P. 22)

We must only discard the dogma that " the Sanskrit language is eternal and unchangeable " (p. 22), and that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is necessarily, logically and technically a flawless system (p. 23). Instead, we must adopt a philological and historical approach to interpretation.

Thieme is surely right in nearly all he says : the need for a philological and historical method, the possible lack of a direct tradition between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana or Patañjali, and the failure of the later commentators to make a valid independent contribution (though, as explained below, I would not agree with the reason Thieme gives for that failure.) Here I would just like to take issue with one point : the alleged status of the *Mahābhāṣya* as the only key to Pāṇini, and the alleged inadequacy of " bare reasoning ".

It will be obvious to the reader that the present essay, for example, could not have followed the method and programme outlined by Thieme. We had to bypass the *Mahābhāṣya* almost completely, because it has nowhere investigated the meaning difference between the different words denoting optionality. So here we were forced to rely entirely on the "bare reasoning" which Thieme condemns as inadequate. And yet we succeeded in getting somewhere. I conclude that the method which Thieme urges us to follow in interpreting Pāṇini is, at best incomplete and at worst obscurantist. As a practical necessity, it will obviously have to be abandoned at least in so far as we wish to raise questions which happen not to have attracted the attention of Kātyāyana and Patañjali — unless we are prepared to embrace the defeatist attitude that we can never get anywhere in trying to answer such questions. But even as regards topics which do come up for discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya*, Thieme seems to me to be rather overstating the case. The *Mahābhāṣya* is an important work, but depicting it as the *only* key to Pāṇini is only apt to promote a discouraging and false view of Sanskrit grammar as a peculiarly esoteric and extremely difficult subject which must remain accessible only to a few initiated specialists.

Why does Thieme think that modern Pāṇini interpretation must be dependent in this way on the *Mahābhāṣya*, where by the *Mahābhāṣya* he means, as is clear from the above quotations, more specifically Patañjali's work? Thieme's reason for ascribing such a role to the *Mahābhāṣya* is not, as might be thought, the idea that Patañjali possesses some authentic traditional knowledge passed down from Pāṇini. He rejects this notion very explicitly. His real reason is clearly explained in his essay on the principles followed by Nāgeśa in interpreting Pāṇini (1957), where he characterizes Nageśa's principles as follows:

"Nāgojī's principle is that, in explaining Pāṇini, we have to rely on the *Bhāṣya*, and the *Bhāṣya* only."

"Everything necessary for the interpretation of Pāṇini can be found in the *Bhāṣya*. We have no right to make any assumptions or to use any devices for which there is no authority in that great work. Rather, we have to concentrate our efforts on ascertaining the true and final views of Patañjali. In pursuing this admittedly difficult task we must take, above all, his statements at their face value and refrain from twisting the plain sense of his words into what would suit our own purposes." (P. 53)

It is this method which Thieme holds to be valid and urges on present-day Pāṇini scholarship:

"Also from a modern historical point of view we cannot but admit that Nāgojī's principle of explaining Pāṇini by trusting the guidance of Patañjali, as the one who has an authoritative command of Sanskrit as a spoken language, rather than that of Kaiyaṭa or Bhaṭṭoji, is perfectly legitimate."

The reason which Thieme gives for his view, then, is that Patañjali, unlike the later commentators, was a native speaker of Sanskrit :

> " Nāgojī shrewdly recognized that, in explaining Pāṇini, Patañjali was in quite a different position from that of any later commentator. All the later commentators are not able to explain Pāṇini by confronting the rules with their own or others' *living* speech. They have learned Sanskrit in school and must consider correct what the grammar says. Hence they have no authority by which to settle the question whether the usage they infer by " logical reasoning " is correct. By hunting up in some way or other a *jñāpaka* they cannot establish a valid inference : *bhāṣyānuktajñāpitārthasya sādhutāyā niyāmakatve mānābhāvāt* (*PŚ*. 94, l. 9f.) " since there is no standard (that may be used) in determining the correctness of the purpose (of an expression or formulation of Pāṇini's) that is (allegedly) established by a *jñāpaka*, (but) not taught by the *Bhāṣya* ". (P. 61–62)

Thieme is contending that neither the later commentators nor modern scholars are in any position to make valid original contributions to the interpretation of Pāṇini. And the reason in both cases is the same : not being native speakers of Sanskrit, they are forced to rely on " bare reasoning ", which does not yield valid results. Therefore, we must approach Pāṇini only via Patañjali, not through " bare reasoning ", and we must not take any stock in what the later commentators say except in so far as it concerns the interpretation of Patañjali.

The very premise of Thieme's argument, viz. that Patañjali's knowledge of Sanskrit is of a fundamentally different sort than that of later authors, stands in need of justification. A case has also been made, by L. Bloomfield, for the alternative view that the decisive break comes *before* Patañjali.

> " Pāṇini and Kātyāyana recorded the facts of a standard colloquial language spoken by them as their mother tongue and as the medium of everyday life : if, like ours, it was archaic in comparison with the normal dialects of the time, it was, like ours, native to many speakers, who with a little training were able to decide what could and could not be spoken. The later grammarians, including, I venture to say, Patañjali, were in no position to criticize the facts thus given by their predecessors ; for them Sanskrit was a second language, spoken to be sure, but preserved and by them acquired through a literary tradition, much as was Classical Latin for a learned Italian of, say, the fifth century A.D. " (Bloomfield, 1927)

My own guess would be still different. It is likely that already in Pāṇini's time, the normal range of stylistic registers available to an ordinary language had widened into a situation of diglossia (cf. Ferguson, 1969) with Sanskrit being preferred in public and formal discourse and the vernacular being preferred in private and intimate discourse, rather like classical vs.

colloquial Arabic today. As the vernacular drifted further and further away from the fixed norm of Sanskrit, the diglossia slowly developed into full-fledged Sanskrit-and-vernacular bilingualism, while at the same time becoming limited to an increasingly small proportion of the population. It would be arbitrary to set the disappearance of "living" Sanskrit either between Patañjali and Candra (with Thieme) or between Kātyāyana and Patañjali (with Bloomfield). More likely there was just a continuous gradual process in which the vernaculars became less and less like Sanskrit, so that more and more aspects of Sanskrit had to be learned as a second language is learned, rather than as a formed style of one's native language is learned. On this view also, the special status envisaged for the *Mahābhāṣya* by Thieme lacks a linguistic foundation.

But I do not want to rest my criticism of Thieme primarily on the weakness of his premise. Let me grant, for the sake of argument, that Sanskrit was somehow a "living" language for Patañjali but a "dead" language for Kaiyaṭa or Candra. Still, the conclusions which Thieme proceeds to draw from this assumption do not seem to me to be quite sound. In the first place, it is not true that all, or even most, *jñāpakas* depend on some fact of Sanskrit usage, as Thieme implies in the quoted passage. Rather, the typical *jñāpaka* depends on the structure of the system only, and by its very logic requires no confirmation from the facts of linguistic usage. For example, to take a standard case, the mention of *lyap* in 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyap ti kiti* "*ad* → *jagdh* before *LyaP* and before a suffix beginning with *t* and having a diacritic *K*" is an indication, or *jñāpaka*, that in the underlying form *pra* + *ad* + *Ktvā*, rule 2.4.36 cannot be applied before rule 7.1.37 *samāse 'nañpūrve ktvo lyap* "*Ktvā* → *LyaP* in a compound not beginning with *naÑ*". For if *ad* → *jagdh* would apply before *Ktvā* → *LyaP*, then *ad* → *jagdh* would apply at a stage in the derivation when the following suffix is still *Ktvā*. But *Ktvā* begins with *t* and has diacritic *K*. Therefore, the mention of *LyaP* in the rule would be redundant. The fact that *LyaP* was mentioned in the rule indicates that Pāṇini assumed a different ordering of rules, where *pra* + *ad* + *Ktvā* is first subjected to the change *Ktvā* → *LyaP* and then only to the change *ad* → *jagdh*. (Any theory of the principles of rule ordering underlying the composition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ought, therefore, to be able to predict this order of rules.) But now notice that we do not have to have access to any information whatever about Sanskrit usage to appreciate the force of this *jñāpaka*. The critical fact, that the right form is *prajagdhya* and not **prādya*, is one which Pāṇini himself tells us in these rules. The *jñāpaka* turns not on the correctness of this fact, but on the question whether Pāṇini could have told us this fact in a simpler way.

We have above ourselves made use of several arguments from *jñāpakas* for establishing our interpretation of *vā* and *vibhāṣā*, on the basis of the formulation of 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* (Ch. 6) and the repetition of *num* in 7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num* (Ch. 1). None of them depended on the facts of usage, although in the case of 7.1.80, the argument was strengthened by the observation that the information conveyed by Pāṇini's rules about the relative frequency of variants appears to be correct.

But in any case, even when it comes to interpreting Pāṇini's rules on the basis of the Sanskrit facts, our position is not nearly as hopeless as Thieme's argument makes it out to be. Although we are not native speakers, we obviously have *some* knowledge of Sanskrit that is independent of what Pāṇini's rules generate. In two domains we can of course make extremely close comparisons : the Vedic rules with the Vedic texts, and the Classical rules with Pāṇini's own usage and the roughly contemporaneous literature. And in certain areas, fortunately including that of the preferences among options, even later Classical usage is independent of Pāṇini's rules, so that a comparison is legitimate here too, though we must duly allow for the gap in time and space which divides Pāṇini from the later Classical authors.

A different, and in itself plausible reason for resorting to the interpretations of the commentaries is indicated by Bare (1976, 6) : "....their methodology, mode of reasoning and type of insight are definitely of a different nature than those of a modern Western linguist; as such they can give us a good idea of Pāṇini's conceptual workshop and can also possibly supplement our own reasoning on any given question. " It would certainly be wonderful if we could study Patañjali's arguments to see how Pāṇini's mind must have worked. The catch is that Patañjali's intellectual outlook is composed of various separate strands, of which some undoubtedly lead back to Pāṇini but others just as surely form the beginning of the new " scholastic " mode of thought that dominates the later grammatical scholarship. As Kielhorn noted in the conclusion to his essay on Kātyāyana and Patañjali (1876, 56) : " To show in detail the differences between Kātyāyana and Patañjali would be a task full of interest, and highly instructive, as showing the progress which the science of grammar had undoubtedly made from the time of Kātyāyana to that of Patañjali, and as tracing in the work of the latter the germs of those failings which have continued growing and increasing in the works of the later grammarians ever since. " This project has not been carried out to this day, but it is an indispensable prerequisite to the methodical utilization of Patañjali for Pāṇini interpretation.

Some differences between Pāṇini and Patañjali are obvious. The most important one, perhaps, is that Pāṇini was concerned primarily with the problems of *constructing* a grammar of Sanskrit, whereas Patañjali was concerned primarily with the problems of *interpreting* the grammar which Pāṇini had constructed, and with making, where necessary, *local revisions* in it — that is, revisions in the formulation of particular single rules.

Consider the magnitude of the task which Pāṇini accomplished. In the course of his work, he had to make innumerable decisions, large and small, about how to organize the grammar so as to characterize the facts and structure of the Sanskrit language in the best possible way. Whenever we inquire thoroughly after the rationale behind these decisions, we discover them to be the result of truly deep investigation into the structural properties of language. This has been extensively documented, for example, in the case of the *Tripādī* section, the *kāraka* system, and the *Śivasūtras*, to mention three of the best studied subsystems of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. One task of Pāṇini interpretation is to uncover the insights about the workings of language that underlie the structural features of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. What is gained, for example, by interposing an abstract intermediate set of *kāraka* and *lakāra* categories between meaning and morphology ? Why not drop them and go directly from semantics to the concrete linguistic units, as later grammarians like Candra in fact did ? Why is not the whole morphophonology organized in the manner of *Tripādī* ? Why is at least the *ābhīya* section (6.4.22 ff.) not set up that way ? Such questions are of the greatest interest from a linguistic point of view, and understanding Pāṇini's grammar involves understanding the answer to them.

But the fact is that Patañjali scarcely touches on such questions unless Kātyāyana brings them up for him. Patañjali seems to have little interest on his own part in the larger problems of constructing a grammar. For him, the grammar is already there, and its *overall* organization is taken very much for granted. His question is : how can the grammar be interpreted, and if necessary modified, so as to be consistent with the facts of Sanskrit usage, so as to be internally consistent, and so as to be sound from a philosophical point of view ? Structural revisions suggested by Kātyāyana are at times rejected by Patañjali solely on the grounds that they are non-Pāṇinian : *sidhyaty evam, apāṇinīyam tu bhavati, yathānyāsam evāstu* (*Mahābhāṣya*, I.14.7, 39.8). Even many local revisions, such as deletions, additions, and reformulations of single rules, are rejected if some interpretive trick can be found to justify the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The risk in basing our interpretation on the *Mahābhāṣya* is not so much that we may fall for these tricks. They can be recognized for what they are, and Pāṇini's grammar can be seen in the proper light as a historical product of a particular period in Sanskrit literature, which attempts to achieve completeness, consistency, and simplicity within a certain framework of theory and goals, but, like any human work, was not infallible in reaching these ideals. That is after all what the philological method of interpretation is designed for.

The real danger is rather *that we let Patañjali ask our questions for us* and thereby accept his presuppositions about the goals and theoretical foundations of linguistic analysis, instead of trying to see them in Pāṇini's own way. Thereby we lock ourselves into Patañjali's particular universe of discourse, and anachronistically impose the ideas of Patañjali on Pāṇini, without realizing what a great gulf actually separates the two.

To ensure that we do not distort Pāṇini by looking at his work through Patañjali's eyes, we may wish to employ, alongside the approach recommended by Thieme, and as a supplement to it, one which in this respect is its exact converse : to raise new questions about the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and to try to answer them both by investigating the internal structure of the system directly, and by methodically comparing the rules with actual Sanskrit literary usage.

It is striking how little work has been done along these lines. As a rule, translators of Pāṇini have gone by the *Mahābhāṣya* or by later commentaries except when some of the more glaring discrepancies have forced them to reassess the purport of a rule in accordance with systematic and linguistic evidence. There are hardly any studies correlating the linguistic facts of Sanskrit and the rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with a view to resolving the moot questions of interpretation. The relatively few studies that have systematically related them at all have had quite different purposes (e.g. Liebich 1891, Thieme 1935a, Laddu 1974). The best existing edition and translation (Böhtlingk 1887) is rather good about restoring the readings and interpretations of the *Bhāṣya* for those of the later tradition (largely thanks to Kielhorn's help), but rarely pushes beyond the *Bhāṣya* itself. Renou's text and translation (1966) is much less ambitious still. Instructive examples of what may be discovered by taking a fresh look at the rules are Joshi (1971, 1976) and Palsule (1972).

The need for internal interpretation of Pāṇini was, I believe, first expressed by Böhtlingk and Roth in the Preface to volume 5 of their Sanskrit dictionary : " Just understanding a rule of Pāṇini's does not yet mean that we have obtained insight into his scholarly point of view. We are not lead to this insight by studying the later grammarians either, but only by an unprejudiced philological understanding. " Unfortunately, as already their second sentence reveals, they combined their programme with an underestimation of the value of the post-Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. This becomes even clearer later in the same Preface when they term Kātyāyana a " pedant ". Surely none of the major Pāṇinīyas, and least of all Kātyāyana, deserve that label. To a considerable extent, Kātyāyana is still looking at the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with the eyes of an active grammar-writer. He raises questions not only about the formulation of specific rules, but also about the organization of the whole work. In content, his *vārttikas* can be compared to the notes which a present-day linguist would make in the margin of a colleague's grammar of a language on which he himself has worked intensively (though in their depth and organization they are, of course, something much more than that). As more and more of the tradition becomes canonical, subsequent scholars are reduced to arguing within increasingly narrow limits. Patañjali is the last to criticize Pāṇini, and Kaiyaṭa is the last major figure to criticize Patañjali.[3]

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[3] E.g. on the Bhāṣya to 6.1.174 : *bhāṣyakāreṇa bhaktyātiśayaḥ sūtrakāraṁ prati darśitaḥ, na tv iyam spaṣṭā gatiḥ.*, where Patañjali is accused of showing excessive devotion to Pāṇini.

Nāgeśa, whom Thieme presents as a great reformer of Pāṇini interpretation, from another point of view merely represents the terminal stage in the progressive constriction of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. Thieme advocates emulating Nāgeśa; but may we not also, with due regard to later commentators, emulate Kātyāyana?

Thieme himself (1958, 22) has drawn certain analogies between the methodology of Vedic and Pāṇinian interpretation. Let us push them a bit further. The issue confronting Pāṇini studies is parallel to one which was debated in Vedic studies in the 19th century. The first Western philologists who approached the Vedas, such as H. H. Wilson, had great faith in the medieval commentary of Sāyaṇa, and very little faith in the ability of modern research to make independent new advances in Vedic interpretation. It then began to be realized that Sāyaṇa's perspective comes not from a genuine tradition going back to Vedic times, but from his own Classical Sanskrit vantage point, with its method of ad hoc, case by case, interpretation on the basis of a much later stage of the language than the Vedas were composed in. "Since even Yāska and other ancient exegetes can be shown to have laboured under various misapprehensions, how could Sāyaṇa be supposed to have drawn reliable information from an unbroken and authentic tradition?" (Gonda 1971, 4). When scholars like Roth consequently embarked on a systematic internal analysis of the text independently of the later tradition, a great surge of progress in Vedic interpretation took place. A further methodological advance was the working assumption that a word has a basic or central meaning which should be reflected - with various contextual shadings - in all the passages in which that word occurs. Whereas Roth and Grassmann were apt to multiply the meanings of words in order to get smooth, straightforward readings, Bergaigne argued that more justice was done to the content of the poems by taking each word in its ordinary sense and assuming a complex texture of ideas. The end of the century also saw a renewed appreciation of the Sanskrit commentators and lexicographers, whose works, in the opinion of Pischel and Geldner, "should be carefully scrutinized in search of valuable notes and observations supposed to be based on more or less authentic tradition" (Gonda 1971, 165).

It may be shocking to compare the relationship between Yāska or Sāyaṇa and the Vedic *ṛṣis* to the relationship between Patañjali and Pāṇini. There is in both cases a break in the tradition which prohibits us from taking one as providing authoritative information about the meaning of the other. Moreover, there is in both cases the crucial intellectual shift from the creator to the interpreter. Patañjali was not a maker of grammars any more than Yāska or Sāyaṇa were Vedic poets.

To be sure, Patañjali is still very much closer to Pāṇini than Sāyaṇa is to the Veda. There could be at most eight centuries between Pāṇini and

Patañjali,[4] and there are perhaps twenty-five between the composition of the *Ṛgveda* and Sāyaṇa's commentary on it. Moreover, in grammar, which is a coherent system where most things are interrelated, and whose "meaning", viz. to allow the expressions of the Sanskrit language to be derived, is known, it was obviously never possible for the tradition to slip as much as in the interpretation of the Vedic poetry. The grammatical tradition could only float astray with respect to features which were not anchored in place either by known usage or by the internal logic of the system. But we now know that these detachable features include at least one quite fundamental property of the grammar : the threefold distinction among optional rules. It is a task for future Pāṇini scholarship to complete the restoration.

In doing so, it would seem sensible to adopt a counterpart of the methodology on which Vedists have settled : critical interpretation of the text through its own internal structure (cf. Roth) and by comparison with authentic, where possible contemporary literature, with the assumption of simple and consistent structural principles underlying the work (cf. Bergaigne), but still with thorough consideration of what the tradition has to say (cf. Pischel, Geldner).[5]

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[4] The conjectured dates have ranged between 500 B. C. and 350 B.C. for Pāṇini, and between 175 B. C. and as late as 280 A. D. for Patañjali (on the latter see Joshi and Roodbergen, 1976, p. xxiii). As noted above, the linguistic facts appear to favour the earlier date for Pāṇini.

[5] See e.g. Laddu 1974, 19 for the tests to be applied to the scholastic interpretation, and 13, 16 f. for a modern twist to the import or to the wording of the traditional adage, *yathottaraṁ munitrayasya prāmāṇyam.*

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ADDEND AND CORRIGENDA

Note :—References are to the pages, and, following a dot, generally to the lines unless otherwise specified. '*mid*' and '*end*' stand respectively for the centre and the last line of the page, and '*f. b.*' to (the line) from below (on that page). Easily detectable corrections are not pointed out.

	For	*Read*
2.9	of the	the
10.18,31	*śyap*....	*śap* ...
15.29	*būbhava*	*būbhuva*
22.13	suffix	root
22.17	*prācīna*	*prācīnā*
27.9	*'bhyas*....	*'mbhas*....
31.30	..*labhyn*....	..*labhya*....
32.22	3 1.135	3.2.135
32.32	3.1.133	3.2.135
39.5	4.1.92	4.1.82
46 *mid*	183....*nodātto*	184....*nodāttā*
47	1.4.3	(17) 1.4.3
50.4	*-u*	*-ū̆*
54.3 *f.b.*	Ch. 4	p. 102
58 : fn. 4	Vedic accent	Vedic form and accent
61 : fn.	3.1.48	3.1.43
62.13	*va*	*vā*
68.15	*maht*	*mahī́*
68.16	*pṛthivī*	*pṛthivī́*
69.29	*dvistanā*	*dvístanā*
70.15	*āṇam*	*-āṇam*
73 *mid*	106	108
74.3	*triṣ*	*tríṣ*
77.34	Ch. 2	p. 8
84 : fn.	Ch. 2	p. 25
88.7	shifts	shift
93.2	*dyut*	*jyut*

	For	*Read*
93.30	Ch. 2	p. 48
97.28	is	in
98 *mid*	Panicum Italicum	Setaria Italica
108.9	*..ṣ "āni*	*..ṣā "ni*
110.31	location	locution
115 *mid*	optimally	optionally
116.3 *f.b.*	that....*pārṇā*	than....*pārṇa*
119.8	*atiadat....*	*atiśad....*
119 *end*	2).	2, p. 53–54).
120.7	n.d.	1969
121.3	*avataḥ*	*avarataḥ*
121.9f	It then disappears	I found no instances
122 *mid*	Ch. 2	p. 22
125.2	Ch. 2	p. 23 ff.
125.9	*yai*	*śyai*
126 *end*	below	p. 147
129.19	of	or
130.31	*indhāná*	*índhāna*
130.24,28,41 131.6	157	159
135.27	below	p. 150, 158
139.11	*haviṣyate*	*haniṣyate*
139.38	*akṛṣātam*	*akṛṣātām*
141 *mid*	*..manasaḥ*	*..manas*
146 : fn. 69	*adalít*	*adalīt*
147.31	in Ch. 2	on p. 50
166.10,7 *f.b.*	*a* +	**a* +
166.7 *f.b.*	*raā*	*raa*
166.5	italicized	unstarred
168.16	*acīvṛtat*	*avīvṛtat*
169.30	applying	by applying
169.24 170.4	8.1.108	8.2.108
180.6	*suprāpāṇā*	*suprapāṇa, -ā*
180.25	*with*	*without*
187	6.1.27	6.1.26

	For	*Read*
196 : fn. 4	*kulīya*	*kulīna*
200.34	with	which
208.11	*śakhe*	*sákhe*
208.16	*daṁśasā*	*daṁsasā*
209.6	trying	trying to
211.8	in	an
211 : (5), (6)	preferably	preferable
224 : fn. 23	*darśanīyabhāryā*	*da .... ya*
226	1.4.44	1.1.44
238.35	Agarwal	Agrawala
239.30	there	therefore
244.10	formed	formal

15.8 *f.b.* **Delete** –the sentence : The verbs......

75.11 **Add** —*Abhi* + *sak* (*RV*. 10. 159.1 *abhyasākṣi*) also agrees with Pāṇini's preference. (See p. 175 f.)

121.3 **Add** —But *avastāt* is Vedic. (See next item.)

127. **Read** —further for 6.1.56, under (78) :

The common form *bhīṣayate*, with *s* (> *ṣ*) by 7.3. 40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*, is the preferred form according to Pāṇini's rules, on our interpretation. Rule 6.1.56 is therefore not " inconclusive " as stated in the text, but supports our theory.

129.30 **Read** —the line as :

the accent is initial optionally *(anyatarasyām),* or on the

216.5 **Add** —Of course, non-feminine *-ta* shows up in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *ādityadevata*.

Ch. 4, Ch.7 :—Our views on the position of Sanskrit at the time of the early grammarians agree on the whole with those reached by M. Deshpande (" Pāṇinean Grammarians ", appearing in the *Adyar Library Bulletin : Brahmavidyā*), and H. H. Hock and R. Pandharipande (" The Socio–Linguistic Position of Sanskrit in Pre-Muslim South Asia", appearing in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*).

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